

Wednesday October 1 1997

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# The Guardian

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NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR

46,983

The chaos behind the cameras

## Magnum force

G2 with European weather

Growing up with Molly Parkin

## My mother, the alcoholic

Parents, G2 pages 8/9

The aid issue

## Clare Short overseas

Society, G2 pages 12/13

# High ideals, hard choices

Britain can be a beacon to the world, says Blair

Michael White  
Political Editor

**T**ONY BLAIR yesterday launched a high-minded appeal to the British people to cast aside the cynicism and mediocrity of the postwar era and join a selfless national renewal under the banner of "The Giving Age".

He used his first speech to a Labour conference since sweeping to power to promise and warn voters that they had elected "a government of high ideals and hard choices". It would push through the changes needed to turn Britain into "a model 21st century nation, a beacon to the world", he predicted.

"Modernisation is not an end in itself. It is for a purpose. Modernisation is not the enemy of justice, but its ally. Progress and justice are the two rocks upon which the New Britain is raised to the heights," Mr Blair told 2,000 people in the Brighton Centre and the far wider TV audience — to whom much of his speech was addressed.

There was a tough economic message beneath the surface of his 6,000-word text, coupled with a social conservatism that elevated discipline and duty, denounced industrial conflict — "partnership is the key" — and elevated family life.

The aim was for a compassionate society. "But it is compassion with a hard edge because a strong society cannot be built on soft choices."

Mr Blair spoke of a huge social problem in re-establishing family life as the bedrock of society. He said: "Attitudes have changed. The world has changed. But I am a modern man leading a modern country and this is a modern crisis."

Jack Straw, the Home Secretary, is expected to chair a new ministerial committee to strengthen the family, and Social Security Minister

Frank Field's radical plans for ending welfare dependency and curbing state involvement in pensions — the subject of growing tension in Whitehall — will produce a green paper before Christmas.

"The new welfare state must encourage work, not dependency," Mr Blair warned.

The conference, which gave him a prolonged but restrained standing ovation when he finished, remained silent during the more politically sensitive passages. Yet his insistence that fear of crime is a threat to the civil liberties of women and pensioners received one of the loudest cheers of the day.

Mr Blair's determination that a Labour government will serve two full terms shone through the speech. He again warned against complacency — and revealed an agenda much bigger than a celebration of Labour's 179-seat Commons majority.

Last night William Hague, who faces his first party conference as Tory leader in Blackpool next week, criticised Mr Blair's talk of "the giving age" — claiming that voters had already given a lot in extra taxes since May 1.

Lavishly praising "the richness of the British character" in his opening passage, the Prime Minister called it "creative, compassionate, outward looking. Old British values, but a new British confidence. We can never be the biggest, we may never again be the mightiest. But we can be the best."

He used the word "beacon" 14 times, almost as often as he invoked "hard choices."

There were also hard nuggets of policy development in the hour-long performance. Mr Blair rattled off a list of reforms which his ministers had either set in train or implemented since election day — ranging from the handgun ban and devolution to tax changes and the Northern Ireland peace process.

He also announced new initiatives, including a target of



Tony Blair yesterday: 'Give just as much to our country as we intend to give. Give your all'

PHOTOGRAPH: MARTIN ARISLES

500,000 more people in higher and further education by 2002 and more low-cost access to the Internet for school children — for as little as £1 per pupil in annual telephone costs.

There was a huge cheer when Mr Blair said he would reverse Tory plans to halve the 283 million budget for teaching English as a second

language in schools.

As the Prime Minister moved towards his peroration he linked Labour values with "the best of British values" and called on the entire country to make a supreme national effort to help modernise it.

He said: "There is room for all the people in New Britain and there is a role for all the

people in its creation. Believe in us as much as we believe in you. Give just as much to our country as we intend to give, give your all. Make this the giving age."

Such a fervent appeal for national unity and generosity of purpose to replace cynicism and fear of change had echoes of President John Kennedy's celebrated inaugural

address in 1961.

For a party leader who had just won a historic landslide Mr Blair's speech was notably light on triumphalism, but it was heavy on high-minded ambition, almost religious in tone and decidedly low-key.

Labour at Brighton, page 5;  
Leader comment, page 5;  
Jonathan Freedland, page 9

## Main points

- Target of 500,000 extra students in higher and further education by 2002
- To restore cash for extra teaching for children whose first language is not English
- To provide more cash for school repairs
- To create a government committee to strengthen policies supporting families
- To create 10 specially-funded health action zones
- To build a new hospital in Greenwich, south-east London, using private finance, on top of the 14 already pledged
- To publish a White Paper on "Simple Government" to cut bureaucracy

## Buzz words

Tony Blair's 5,800-word speech was strong on patriotic buzz-words.

British or English got 53 mentions, country 31 (up from 18 two years ago), and nation 19.

The message was not quite as new (33 mentions against 37 in 1995). Labour featured 19 times. Socialism didn't rate a mention this year, though it got one in 1995. Communism scored one (down from six), but people continued to do well with 44.

The curiously antiquated-sounding beacon entered the charts for the first time this year with eight mentions.

Choice — a great Thatcherite favourite — figured 11 times, but on all but two occasions Mr Blair stuck the adjective hard in front of it.

We was the favourite preposition (200); you scored 38; I 75 and the only eight.

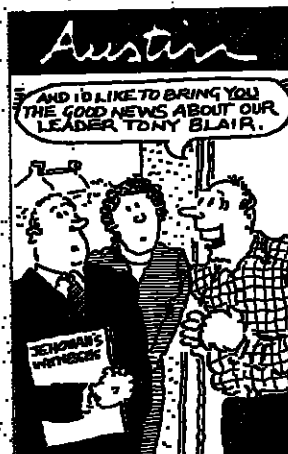
Other top words: world 57, modern 21, change 16, giving/giving 16, vision 12, best 12, reform 12.

Cut-words: unions two, equality one, nationalisation none.

## Choice words

If the speech he articulated yesterday is to come true, Tony Blair needs to start showing the world that he is the man of the future.

Jonathan Freedland, page 9



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## Tony Blair: turning leadership into an art form

### Commentary

Hugo Young

**P**OLITICAL leaders are either engineers or artists, the calculating mechanic or the elusive magician, and almost every one of the present generation, all over the world, falls into the former category. It's their destiny to grapple with the complexities of survival, surrounded by problems that offer no apparent triumphs. Engineers are painstaking and worthy and, like John Major, they invariably fail.

No party in the world is

more smoothly engineered than New Labour. Tony Blair's speech yesterday attested to the precision of the programme and the benchmark-testing which, in every particular, it expects to be judged by. The check-lists are incessant, and there's no such thing as a loose end in the blueprint.

Mr Blair ran through the accomplishments so far, to show that the greatest election-fighting machine on Earth is nothing if not measured in its conduct. It arrived at a scene of chaos, on which it is imposing order. Every week produces new targets, deep studies, and quite a few hard-edged decisions. No subject lacks its dedicated inquirers, its New Labour logicians who know the answer, and the leader yesterday was the spokesman who had worked on his speech for weeks.

Yet the special brilliance of Mr Blair, is that he's not a mere engineer. He's very calculating but, at bottom, he's more oblique, more mysterious, less decipherable than the check-list makes you think. He is, in other words, an artist, perhaps the Frank-Roosevelt of our age. Gore Vidal wrote of Roosevelt's "inspired, patternless arabesques ... artfully dodging this way and that", the furthest cry from the kind of politician doggedly trying and failing, Major-like, to make it all add up.

Mr Blair wants it to add up. New Labour is big on figures, the party of prudence and accountability. More gleaming targets emerged yesterday. All 32,000 of Britain's schools are promised computers, software, competent computer teachers and a near-free hook-up to the Internet by 2002. Literacy and numeracy must ac-

celerate at compound rates by the same date. Families must get back together, schoolchildren stop swearing and spitting, teenagers be deterred from producing 100,000 pregnancies a year.

The speech could be called in large part a Tory speech, putting words round Tory concepts like duty and ambition, except that no Conservative politician could utter off the stage, as they were in May. Mr Major tried it with his back-to-basics, but nothing he said was ever taken seriously. Mr Blair's speech often came over like a sermon, but it exuded a sincerity that excused its loftiness.

He has appropriated all decent British values as New Labour values. The equation works out perfectly. The party's make-over is an image-maker's dream, its most stunning element the capture by Labour of a reputation as the

only party of the nation. Mr Blair's litany of British greatness, a recitation Mr Major also often tried, wasn't stitched together in desperation but was the appeal of a new man trying to make the British raise their sights and their game.

But this is where the artistry took over, the patternless arabesques began to appear. For the programme, in truth, is less schematic than the sound-bite merchants and headline managers pretend. Mr Blair is a purveyor of mood and feeling at least as much as of blueprints, an instructor in the general need for change rather than a precise guide to the changes that will one day make him enemies. This is the post-Rooseveltian New Deal — he used the term — whose shape cannot really be foretold.

Thus, there will be hard choices but, as yet, only limited categories of people

required to make them: bad teachers, single mothers compelled to turn up at the job-centre, doctors who back off from the new Health Action Zones. Absolutely nobody is yet nominated for pain as a result of the leader's passionate commitment to action against global warming: the speech was canvassed as a major environmental statement, but here it was a black hole.

Welfare reform is a bigger commitment, but the engineers have got nowhere near doing their sums. We must reconsider state provision, and dependency, produce a new future built round "stakeholder pensions", but we do not yet know quite how. Still less are we clear how this will be reconciled with the fairer society "progress and justice" — that Mr Blair promises to devote his life to. We must be leaders turn to page 2, column 5

## Inside

### Britain

Roman Catholic bishops gave an unprecedented apology for the French Church's complicity in 70,000 Holocaust deaths

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Anglo-Scottish hostilities resumed with the second leg of Liverpool's Battle of Britain UEFA Cup clash against Celtic

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Anglo-Scottish hostilities resumed with the second leg of Liverpool's Battle of Britain UEFA Cup clash against Celtic

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Carter Street in Allenton, Derby, where Kelly Yeomans (below) and her family lived in a virtual state of siege from bullies, who also taunted Kelly at her school (below right)

PHOTOGRAPHS: GREGOR MOUNTFITH

## Kelly, bullied to death, aged 13

**Martin Wainwright visits a neighbourhood in shock over the suicide of a teenager who could take no more taunts from gangs of boys 'out for a laugh'**

**K**ELLY Yeomans made her lonely arrangements with a bottle of painkillers after falling, along with her family, into the fatal role of easy meat for a gang of bullies.

Tormented at school, where she only left PE lessons in her games kit when everyone else had gone, the puppy-fat 13-year-old gave up hope when even her home failed to provide a safe haven.

Two days before she died, the council-owned semi off Derby's ring road was plastered with eggs and margarine, in a cruel mockery of cake making, while her persecutors — boys aged 13 to 16 — shouted abuse about lard and fat.

Up in the front bedroom the family keeps a favourite ornament, a large and elaborate glass fish. Kelly's mother, Julie, alternating yesterday between fond memories and complete despair, said: "Kelly was covering in there when a block of margarine came flying in through the window. It landed right on our fish."

A smear of yellow margarine was still streaked on the half-rendered brickwork of the house as Mrs Yeomans described what amounted to a short-lived siege.

She said: "It was after that Kelly told us, 'Mam and dad,

it's nothing to do with you but I can't stand it. I'm going to take an overdose."

Police began interviewing a series of youths and their parents on the Allenton estate as preparations for an inquest got under way. "Everyone knows who they're seeing," said Hazel, Caroline and a string of other neighbours calling with flowers, cards and a big envelope for the street collection they had arranged.

"The trouble was, these were the only ones in Carter Street who took it. It didn't come out and say: 'You lot — piss off,'" said Hazel, a kindly woman who comforted Mrs Yeomans as a colour photo of Kelly, smiling shyly behind her specs, prompted tears. "They knew they could have what they called their fun and get away with it."

A 16-year-old boy, hanging about on the corner of Flint Street and Carter Street, where the Yeomans have lived for 12 years, agreed that the gang had been "out for a laugh".

He said: "I don't think they'd a clue it could lead to something like this. I've heard they went to say they're really sorry to the family, but they're scared because of the police calling round."

Like Allenton itself, a



Sarah, Kelly's sister

"They dumped her trainers in the bin at school. Our mam gave her a favourite t-shirt and that went into the bin too. Someone put salt in her food..."

mostly neat estate with privately owned houses scattered about and a daily file of suited commuters walking through to the offices at the Rolls Royce works, Kelly was not a friendless and abandoned misfit.

She had her own circle at grant-maintained Merrill College lower school, including Marie Porter, a 15-year-old blonde unlikely to get shouts of "fatty" or "smelly" from boys.

"I think I was her best friend," said Marie, bringing her own card and flowers. "We tried to help her over the bullying she got. She didn't talk about it much but they didn't let her alone, did they, Sarah?" she added, as Kelly's older sister walked up. "They had it in for your family."

Sarah, who is 16, nodded and listed some of Kelly's regular ordeals. "They dumped

her trainers in the bin at school. Our mam gave her a favourite t-shirt and that went into the bin too. Someone put salt in her food and that went into the bin too. Someone put salt in her food..."

Kelly had also seen less of another group of loyal friends as work at the 1,000-strong college had taken more of her time over the past year. She had been a regular visitor to elderly patrons of the Salvation Army centre on Allenton where she also played the tambourine in the band.

"She was a lovely girl, always wanting to help us all," said Ada Dodsworth, aged 75, a regular. The Sally Ann's local major, Pamela Nott, said: "Everyone who knew her spoke of her so warmly."

Similar strong feelings came from the Yeomans' neighbours, calling in a steady stream to comfort



Sarah, Julie and her husband Ivan, a former Rolls Royce worker who tried in vain to wake Kelly for school on Monday morning. But the sympathy was mixed with resignation about effective ways to help a "picked-on" target.

Patricia Russell, from Flint Street, who offered to take the children in for the night after Julie appeared in tears on her doorstep after the last attack, said: "I told her the only answer in the end was to get the council in and start proceedings for harassment. Otherwise it just wasn't going to stop, ever."

Last Friday's attack on the house, the latest in an intermittent series of incidents stretching back nearly three years, ended when police were called — the gang melting away just before the patrol car turned off the ring road into Carter Street. But

the willingness of neighbours to protect their own homes, by telling the youths where to go, had never extended to fighting back on behalf of others.

Four doors down from the stricken family, a yellow window blind in a pensioner's bungalow reading "This property is protected by the Community Watch Patrol" gives the false impression of neighbourhood action. "Oh, that's the council. It's one of their empty properties and they keep an eye on them," said another Carter Street resident. "Local people aren't going to go that far in tackling gangs like this. They know that they or their kids or their houses could be the next target."

Derbyshire police said yesterday that the inquiry was concentrating on a small number of juveniles and could take some time. "It isn't something we want to rush into," said Det Insp Mark Cheetham. "We're interviewing everyone in the surrounding streets and also offering support to the family."

Governors at Merrill College and its principal, Mike Shaw, are also examining anti-bullying measures although the school said that Kelly had not passed on her concerns to the staff.

Derby's housing director, Hilary Keenan, said full support would be offered to the family, including rehousing if that was what they wished. But the Yeomans' neighbours are hoping to persuade the family to stay. Adding some more coins to her street collection, Hazel said: "They have got good friends round here and we think it's disgusting what they've been through."

It was last recorded in Paris in December 1995 when a transport strike prompted many Parisians to use their cars. According to Philippe Jacob, a spokesman for the SNCF railway network, many commuters never went back to public transport.

## Paris smog alert forces car ban

Alex Dumas Smith in Paris

**P**UPILS have been told to stay in classrooms at breaktime, cars have been curbed and public transport is free in Paris today after high air pollution yesterday prompted drastic action.

The measures, which include a ban on cars with even-numbered registration plates, and strict speed limits, have never before been applied in the French capital or its suburbs.

They were announced yesterday afternoon after two weeks of sun and no wind pushed nitrogen dioxide levels to their highest point for two years, and the top of the Eiffel Tower became clouded by a grey-brown smog.

The mayor of Paris, Jean Tiberi, said the measures would remain in force until weather conditions changed sufficiently to avoid a repeat of the level three alert reached yesterday. If pollution does not fall today, cars with odd-numbered plates will be banned tomorrow. Permission to drive will alternate daily after that if need be.

Taxis and cars containing three people or more are exempt, as are delivery vans, hearses, emergency vehicles and those running on liquefied petroleum gas or electricity.

The measures, which became law last spring, are coupled with free travel on buses, the Metro and the RER suburban railway. Traffic wardens have been ordered not to ticket cars parked in residential areas. The speed limit has been reduced to 60kph (37mph) in Paris and 110kph (68mph) on motorways in Greater Paris.

An environment ministry spokeswoman said drivers breaching the alternate traffic rule would not be fined today but asked to park their cars and walk.

AirParif, which monitors air quality in the French capital, said pollution had reached level three and that conditions were creating "a very stable atmosphere preventing the dispersion of polluting agents".

Level three is a European standard with a threshold of 360 microgrammes of nitrogen dioxide per cubic metre. The standards are determined according to measurements of nitrogen dioxide, ozone and nitrous oxide. Level three is the highest.

It was last recorded in Paris in December 1995 when a transport strike prompted many Parisians to use their cars. According to Philippe Jacob, a spokesman for the SNCF railway network, many commuters never went back to public transport.

## Polanski 'has deal on US sex case'



Roman Polanski: fear of jail led to flight from court

Christopher Reed in Los Angeles

**T**HE fugitive film director Roman Polanski may return to Los Angeles after nearly 20 years abroad to face punishment for having sex with a 13-year-old girl, a television station has reported.

The most important part of an alleged deal between his lawyer, prosecutors and a judge is that the 63-year-old Polish-born auteur does not serve time. It was fear of imprisonment that led Polanski to flee the country in January 1978 rather than attend sentencing in a Santa Monica court. He has a French passport and has lived mostly in France with his wife, the actress Emmanuelle Béart.

The judge at the time, Laurence Rittenband, who has since died, was believed to

have been outraged about the case. Polanski admitted having sexual intercourse with the girl after giving her sedatives and champagne while he photographed her in a hot tub for a French magazine at the home of the actor Jack Nicholson.

By admitting unlawful intercourse, Polanski avoided facing five other charges including raping and drugging the girl. The victim, now a mother of three living in Hawaii with her farmer husband, still says she was raped, but in 1994 she agreed to let Polanski on Polanski's behalf to help him out of exile from Hollywood.

Polanski has directed well-received films including *Katrin* in the Water in 1961, *Rosemary's Baby* in 1968, *Chinatown* in 1974, *Tess* in 1980, and *Bitter Moon* in 1992. But his career has not fulfilled his early promise and critics be-

lieve this is partly because he has been unable to work in the United States.

In *Tess*, for the adaptation of Thomas Hardy's 1891 novel *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*, he had to film in Brittany rather than Dorset and use a mock-up of Stonehenge. Had he gone to Britain he would have been arrested and deported to the US.

The possible deal for Polanski, reported on a Los Angeles television station, was not confirmed. A spokeswoman for the district attorney's office said only: "Polanski is a fugitive from the court."

His lawyer, Douglas Dalton, was unavailable for comment, and the original prosecutor, Roger Gunson, declined to discuss the report. Mr Gunson, Mr Dalton and Judge Larry Fidler are said to have met secretly last December and January.

## Tony Blair: turning leadership into an art

Continued from page 1  
In Europe, but we're not clearer about how this ambition can co-exist with staying outside Europe's biggest project.

An old-fashioned mechanic would be bothered by these lacunae. Jimmy Carter or Ted Heath would have laboured to fill them, before getting out the message. Like Mr Major, they wanted everything laboriously pinned down, an impossible dream. The artist surfs above and beyond them, preaching change as an end in itself, exalting hard choice-making as a virtuous way of life without yet demanding pain. He doesn't quite cry, with Roosevelt, that we have nothing to fear except fear itself, but he does say that on May 1 "fear itself was defeated".

I think he genuinely does not know the answers to some of these large questions. New Labour is not always so clear and sure as it likes to seem. Its leader has a vision of the country he wants to see, but he's holding quite a lot back about how it might materialise.

What he did yesterday was start getting the country ready for events the election did not prepare it for. He is the supreme politician of mood, and behind the exercise of this winning talent he has some iron purposes, even though he cannot yet explain how he will fulfil them. I think artful dodging will be as important as the schematic print-out, as he starts persuading the nation to accept the discomforts and imperfections that accompany serious change. Meanwhile, rated at 93 per cent positive, he stands where neither mechanic nor artist has ever stood before.

Martin Connor's production, after a rough start, eventually settles down. But although it is good to find a new writing team in the West End, I pray that their next musical will seek its source in local life rather than looking longingly across the Atlantic.

This review appeared in some editions yesterday.

## California Summer brings show to life

### Review

Michael Billington

*Maddie*  
Lyric, Shaftesbury Avenue

**M**ADDIE is a new British musical which has made it from Salisbury Playhouse to the West End with the help of much puffing from a rival paper. But it is not journalistic chauvinism that makes me declare that, in spite of an authentic star performance from the exotic Summer Rognie, it is a show which promises more than it finally delivers.

Much has been made of Maddie's British origins. In fact, it is based on a novel by Jack Finney who originated *Invasion of the Body Snatchers*, is set in San Francisco and has an ersatz American feel. At its best, the British musical was an expression of indigenous values and vastly different from its Broadway counterpart. Now it seems virtually identical.

But at least Maddie has an original narrative twist. It is the story of a museum curator, Nick, who becomes so obsessed with a peroxidised 1920s starlet who died young that she is summoned back to life and invades the body of his wife, Jan. Possession becomes nine-tenths of the show with

Nick increasingly torn between the exuberantly supernatural Maddie, desperate for another crack at Finney and his misanthropic and understandably vexed spouse. No prizes for guessing which he finally chooses.

There are echoes of *Blithe Spirit* (the battle between the quick and the dead) and *Damn Yankees* (the contest between worldly success and domestic bliss). But the book, by Shaun McKenna and Steven Dexter, keeps the plot spinning and Stephen Keeling's music switches neatly between periods even if it succumbs to the declamatory, breast-baring showbiz anthem ("I'll Be A Star") that is the curse of the modern musical.

Rognie, the stunning Californian newcomer who plays the divided heroine, has the toothiest of grins, great legs, a fine voice and the ability to switch in a second from the manically egotistic Maddie to the jealous Jan. She gives the show its sex appeal and its emotional drive and one just hopes Summer's lease doesn't have too short a date.

Martin Connor's production, after a rough start, eventually settles down. But although it is good to find a new writing team in the West End, I pray that their next musical will seek its source in local life rather than looking longingly across the Atlantic.

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## Hard Edged

*New Statesman*  
WHAT'S GOING ON

CONTRIBUTORS INCLUDE: MARY RUSSELL, JOHN LLOYD, JONATHAN COE, STEVE FICHARDS, LAURE TAYLOR, HUNTER DAVIES, CAROLE MORRIS, ANDREW BELLER, DARCUS HOWE, WALL SELF, JANE FRODGS. AVAILABLE FROM W.H. SMITH, J. MENZIES, J. SAUNDERS AND ALL GOOD NEWSAGENTS OR, CALL KIMRAD ON 0171 592 3619

## Think again, French philosophers



He may look deep, but the works of Gilles Deleuze are 'stuffed with technical terms used out of context, and with no apparent logic', claim the authors of *Impostures Intellectuelles*

## Euclidean, Spinozist or existentialist? Er, no. It's simply a load of old tosh

Jon Henley in Paris

ONLY in France do post-modern structuralists and relativist post-structuralist modernists become television stars. Only in Paris can people seriously state their profession as thinker. And only on the Left Bank could a slim but plain-speaking volume by two foreign scientists cause quite such an uproar.

American Alan Sokal and Belgian Jean Bricmont have dared to say what no one else would: modern French philosophy is a load of old tosh.

"Our aim is to say that the emperor has no clothes," the pair write in the introduction to *Impostures Intellectuelles*, published next week but already a topic of furious — and

unfathomable — debate in the cafes of the Latin Quarter.

"We want to 'deconstruct' the reputation that these texts have of being difficult because they are deep. We show that if they seem incomprehensible, it is for the very good reason that they have nothing to say."

The authors — a physics professor at New York University and a theoretical physicist from the University of Louvain — slaughter one by one the sacred cows of contemporary French thought, from the psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan and the semiotician Julia Kristeva to Bruno Latour, the scientific sociologist, and the prominent left-wing philosopher Régis Debray.

"They talk abundantly of scientific theories of which

they have, at best, a very vague understanding. They display a superficial erudition by throwing words at the reader in a context where they have no relevance. They demonstrate a veritable intoxication with words, combined with a superb indifference to their meaning..." the pair write.

Quoting extensively from some of France's greatest minds, Mr Sokal and Mr Bricmont set about systematically demolishing their writings as deliberately obscure, excessively convoluted, pseudo-scientific claptrap.

Jacques Lacan, one of the best-known psychoanalysts of the century, is criticised for "arbitrarily mixing key words of mathematical theory, without in the least caring about their meaning".

The authors take particular exception to one of Mr Lacan's lesser-known theories, in which he argues that "the erect male organ, not as itself, not even as image, but as the missing piece of the desired image, is thus equal to the square root of -1 of the highest produced meaning".

In attempting to construct a mathematical formula for poetic language, Ms Kristeva, too, is guilty of "trying to impress the reader with scientific words which she manifestly does not understand".

"She has a vague idea of what she is talking about, but not much."

The works of Gilles Deleuze, a leading contemporary French philosopher who died recently, are "principally characterised by their lack of clarity ... stuffed with very

technical terms used out of context, and with no apparent logic".

And of Jean Baudrillard, an influential sociologist and regular columnist for *Libération* newspaper, the authors conclude: "In the final analysis, one could ask what would actually remain of Baudrillard's thoughts... if one removed the verbose veneer that cloaks them."

Unsurprisingly, the unprejudiced attack has inflamed the Left Bank, home to the cream of France's intellectuals since the days of Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir, and prompted outrage in the press.

"This is war," the daily newspaper *Le Figaro* proclaimed, while the front cover of the weekly news magazine *Le Nouvel Observateur* de-

manded: "Are our philosophers imposters?"

Stung, thinkers have hastened to respond. "What's the point of such a polemic, so far removed from present-day preoccupations?" asked Ms Kristeva. "It's an anti-French intellectual escapade."

Writer Roger-Pol-Droit saw the broadside as part of a sinister new vogue for "scientific, as opposed to political, correctness".

It is clear the philosophers have been shaken. In the words of another of the book's targets, the psychoanalyst Félix Guattari: "Existence, as a process of de-territorialisation, is a specific inter-mechanic operation which superimposes itself on the promotion of singularised existential intensities. It is barely livable."

Jean Baudrillard on the Gulf war: two hypotheses in the same space-time



"The most extraordinary thing is that the two hypotheses — the apocalypse of real time and of pure war, and the triumph of the virtual over the real — are taking place at the same time, in the same space-time, and following each other implacably. It is the sign that the space of the event has become a multiply-refracted hyperspace, that the space of war has definitively become non-Euclidean."

Julia Kristeva on poetic language: theorisation supporting the theory of wholes



"Poetic language (which we will henceforth call by its initials, pl) contains the code of linear logic. Moreover, we can find in it all the combinatory figures that algebra has formalised into a system of artificial signs. Having admitted that pl is a formal system whose theorisation can support the theory of wholes, we can observe, at the same time, that the functioning of poetic meaning obeys the principles of the axiom of choice."

Régis Debray on the existence of God: a whole needs a reason and is not the reason



"Non-fulfilment stipulates that a whole cannot by definition be a substance in the Spinozist sense: something that exists in itself, and is conceived by itself. It needs a reason (from which to engender itself) and it is not the reason of itself."

## Court set to extradite McAliskey

Lawyers say Osnabruck bomb suspect too ill to attend court

Owen Bowcott

ROISIN McAliskey, who is being cared for by a London psychiatric hospital's mother and baby unit, was yesterday ordered to appear in court so she can be transferred to Germany to face IRA bombing charges.

The demand came from the stipendiary magistrate at Bow Street court, Nicholas Evans, after he confirmed he was prepared to grant the German government an extradition order.

"I can indicate that on the basis of what has been said to me, were she here, I would commit her," Mr Evans told the court. But he was not prepared to make the order in her absence.

Lawyers for Ms McAliskey insisted they had received medical advice that the 25-year-old, who gave birth to a girl while on bail four months ago, was not well enough to appear in court.

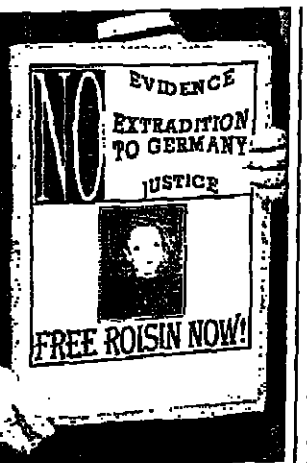
Mid-Ulster MP Bernadette McAliskey, who was in court, called out: "She's not coming."

Later she said her daughter was suffering from "very severe post-traumatic stress disorder" following her treatment in Northern Ireland's Castlereagh holding centre, where she was taken after her arrest 10 months ago, and in two London prisons.

"This is just getting crazier by the minute. Now we cannot get out of this court. Meanwhile this is all affecting my daughter's health. I think she will be very seriously set back by the proceedings."

Roisin McAliskey has repeatedly denied taking part in the IRA's mortar attack on the British army barracks at Osnabruck in June 1996. Three bombs were fired from a lorry parked outside the base but only one exploded. No one was injured.

Both James Lewis, the lawyer for the German government, and Edward Fitzgerald



Supporters outside court demanded her release

QC, for Ms McAliskey, were prepared yesterday for the court to make an extradition order in her absence.

Mr Fitzgerald, who plans to challenge the ruling in the High Court or by way of judicial review at a later stage, said: "Ms McAliskey has maintained her innocence throughout."

The British and Ireland Human Rights Centre, which has campaigned for her to be

freed, claims she has never been to Germany and has witnesses to prove she was in Belfast in the run up to the bombing.

The German arrest warrant, read out in court yesterday, said evidence against her relied upon the statement of an eyewitness who claims to have seen her at the holiday home the IRA unit rented near Osnabruck, and fingerprints on a cellophane wrapping.

Her supporters maintain neither the German police nor the RUC "made any attempt to ascertain her whereabouts" during the month of the Osnabruck attack, the Human Rights Centre claims.

"A mass of witness and documentary evidence, including extensive workplace records, confirms she was in Northern Ireland throughout the whole of June 1996."

The magistrate fixed a hearing for Ms McAliskey to appear on October 9.

## 'Whistleblower' sacked by MoD

Richard Norton-Taylor

A GOVERNMENT scientist has been sacked after blowing the whistle about waste and alleged corruption in controversial Ministry of Defence projects, including a multi-million pound plan to build a fleet of ships to monitor the movement of terrorist suspects in Northern Ireland.

The plan was derided by a senior army officer who suggested it should be used instead to advertise condoms.

Mike Arnold, an expert in electronic communications at the ministry's Defence Evaluation Research Agency (Dera), had earlier questioned the plan — to use Nimrod aircraft to track cars driven by suspect terrorists. For more than eight years, Mr Arnold was concerned about the scale of incompetence, complacency and waste in the MoD. He sent out his concerns in letters to Dera management and a 150-page report to the MoD police.

John Chisholm, chief executive of Dera, told Mr Arnold last year that "remedial action" had been taken after an investigation commissioned by the agency upheld just two of his 24 complaints. As a result, Mr Chisholm said that no further action was required.

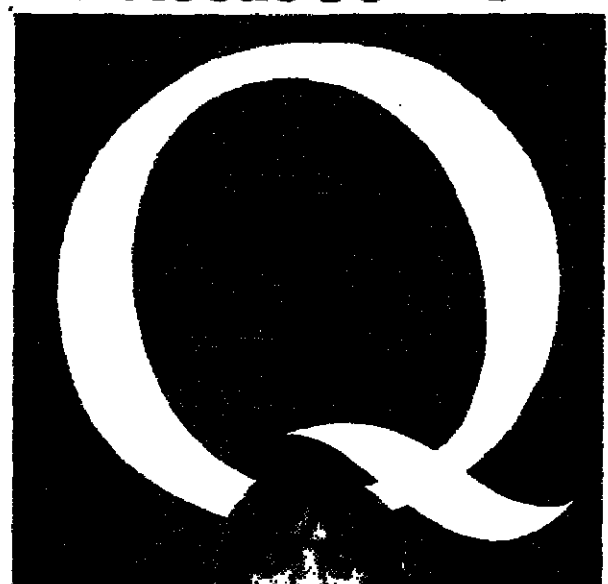
Later, however, the Civil Service Appeal Board found that shortcomings in the investigation were "so serious as to involve a denial of natural justice to Mr Arnold and to render the termination of his employment unfair".

Yesterday, a Dera spokeswoman said the agency accepted the board's findings. She added that MoD police found no evidence of fraud.

Mr Arnold's disclosures came at a time when ministers are indicating that they will back a private member's bill to give legal protection to whistleblowers revealing fraud, crime, and malpractice at work.

Deal over to a 'whistleblower', G2, page 10

## New issue OUT NOW!

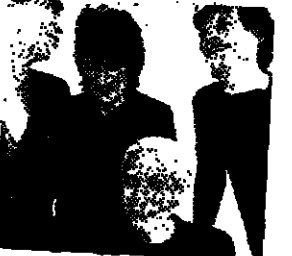


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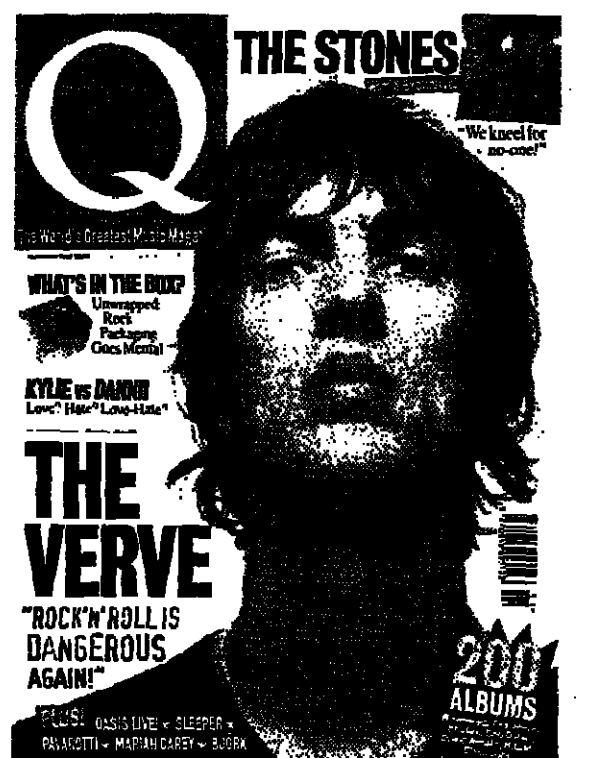


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## Q: This Is Music

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Awards open floodgates for 'dead man's finger' claims

# Miners win crucial payout

Seumas Milne  
Labour Editor

**T**HE Government faces a bill of more than £100 million in damages for a miner's condition known as "dead man's fingers" after the High Court in Newcastle yesterday awarded £127,000 to seven former pitmen in a test case.

More than 12,000 ex-miners have registered compensation cases against British Coal, now a government-owned shell company, for the debilitating industrial disease.

Lawyers for the seven said many thousands more victims were expected to register claims. This — combined with an impending judgment on bronchitis and emphysema — could cost the Government more than £1 billion.

The condition, also known as vibration white finger, is caused by restriction of the blood supply to the hand and nerve damage, and leads to a loss of sensation and strength in the hands and fingers, sensitivity to cold, acute pain and blanching or whitening of the fingers during intermittent attacks.

Triggered by the prolonged use of vibrating tools or equipment, there is no cure or treatment for advanced stages of the disease. In severe cases, victims can lose the use of their hands.

Ian Lavery, the National Union of Mineworkers area secretary in Northumberland, where 5,000 claims are being processed, says: "Sufferers end up unable to use their fingers or handle small objects. They can't pick up keys or do up their buttons or zips. The worst cases never work again."

The decision could also affect manufacturing, farming and the forestry business where drills, pneumatic picks, and similar equipment

are regularly used. Judge John Stephenson, who last year gave the crucial ruling against British Coal over vibration white finger, yesterday awarded between £5,000 and £41,000 to the seven for pain and suffering and resulting financial losses. Two other men received nothing — the claim of one was out of time; the other was found not to be suffering from the disease.

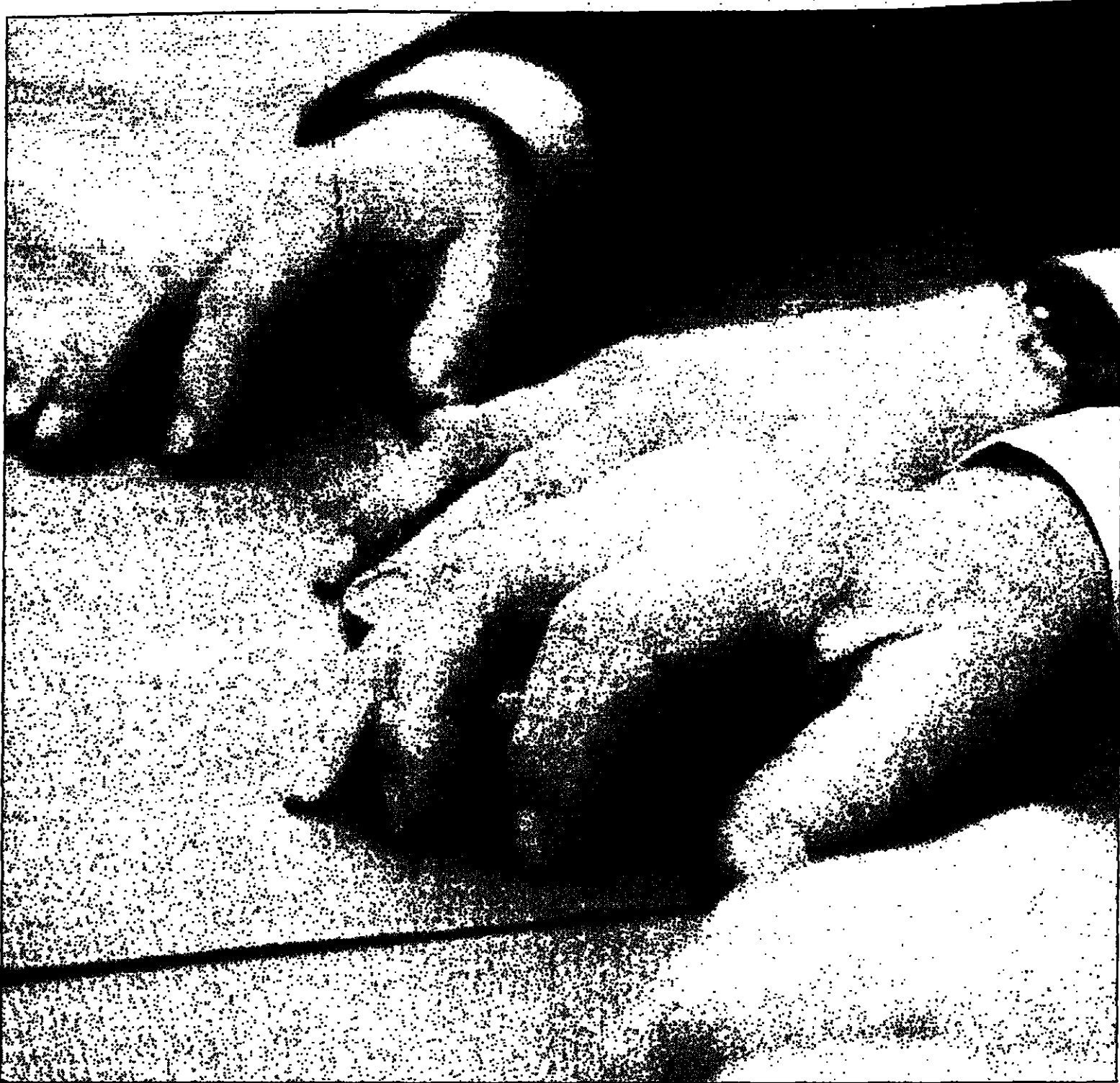
The seven were backed by the National Union of Mineworkers and by Nacods, the pit deputies' union. Their lawyers said the awards would "open the floodgates" for claims. Proceedings in more than 500 other cases have begun.

British Coal, which is due to be wound up next year, could appeal against the payouts — as it did against last year's judgment on its liability. But Bledwyn Hancock, of Nacods, said: "It is a political decision whether they appeal or not and how much longer these cases are dragged out. It is a critical decision for a Labour government. Are they going to drag these cases out longer or are they going to settle proper compensation? It is a moral matter."

Joseph Wright, one of the ex-miners, who used to work at Silverwood colliery, Rotherham, said: "I regard it not only as a victory for myself but for the rest of the people who can now obtain compensation. I have been fighting for seven years."

Leaked government documents from the previous administration have shown that Department of Trade and Industry officials are aware that the size of the eventual bill is likely to shrink the longer the cases are drawn out.

Last year's three-month test case found that British Coal had failed to keep its employees informed about the condition or take proper steps to prevent it.



The hands of a miner with vibration white finger, which leads to a loss of sensation and strength in the hands

**'The pain was so intense that when I tried to warm my hands in water, it fetched me to my knees'**

**JOE Wright, aged 54, first noticed tingling and numbness in his hands when he was working underground at Silverwood colliery, near Rotherham, South Yorkshire, in the mid-1970s.**

He was a special development worker, operating heavy boring machines. He had no idea what was causing the condition, and thought it was just a "private medical problem". No one at the pit was given any information about vibration white finger.

Before long he had developed the characteristic blanching — whitening of the fingers and joints — associated with the condition, and agonising pains brought on by sudden changes of temperature.

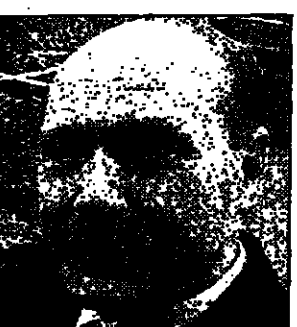
"The pain became so intense that on one occasion when I tried to warm my hands in water, it fetched me to my knees."

But he stayed at the pit — which closed in 1984 — and continued working on the vibrating boring machines. "It was getting worse and worse and I just couldn't take any more."

In 1983, he asked to be transferred to a lighter job in a warmer part of the mine. Instead, he was offered redundancy and became a greengrocer. He is now a security guard at the KP Foods factory in Rotherham, on wages far below those of a mineworker.

Yesterday, he was awarded £21,700. "It could have been a bit more, but I'm delighted."

— Seumas Milne



Joe Wright... no one at pit was given any information



Johnny Voste, a black Belgian resistance fighter, who was sent to Dachau after being arrested for sabotage. Many other blacks were rounded up and sent to concentration camps where an unknown number died

## Film reveals plight of black population under the Nazis

**KAMAL AHMED reports on the forgotten victims of the Third Reich, persecuted, sterilised and used to portray savages in films**

**A**FRAGMENT of cinema film and archive photographs are likely to give an insight into the persecution of the small population of black people who lived in Germany during the Third Reich.

Hitler's Forgotten Victims, to be shown by Channel 4 tomorrow night, uses pictures never seen in public before to reveal that black families were sent to perform in the state circus or used as "actors" in German propaganda films portraying Africa as a continent of savages.

In emotional interviews, families, split apart during the Nazi regime, talk of their battles to find one another after the second world war. They also tell stories of family members not seen since the war and of a Nazi sterilisation programme for black and mixed-race Germans.

"This is a story that is still largely untold," said Eddie Ouyette, associate producer

of the documentary. "Because of the sheer number of Jewish people involved there has been a lot of documentation of their terrible suffering."

"The black population was small and although the documentation is there it is not collected in a systematic fashion. It has remained mostly unseen in the archives."

Many of the black people who suffered during the 1930s and the second world war have now moved back to Germany and are demanding compensation from the government for their treatment.

One man, James Michael, who fled from Germany to Paris before joining the French Foreign Legion, receives a pension from the French government but gets nothing from the German authorities.

Mr Michael and his brother, Theodore, and sister, Juliana, were split up during

Nazi rule. It was not until the 1960s that they were reunited.

"I was liberated by the Russian soldiers," said Theodore, who is now a well-known actor in Germany. "They were surprised to see a black man still alive."

The new film footage includes pictures of black prisoners of war scavenging for scraps of food at the Hermer camp near Dortmund, in north-west Germany.

Black civilians were also sent to concentration camps but there is no record of how many of them died.

When Hitler came to power there were about 20,000 black people living in Germany. Many of them were descendants of soldiers from the French African colonies who were stationed on the Rhine after the first world war.

Hans Bauck, then a 17-year-old apprentice railway worker from Saarbrücken, in southern Germany, said that he was arrested by the Gestapo before being taken to a sterilisation clinic.

"The examination consisted of skull measurements, the eyebrows, eye colour, width of the nose," he said. "We were lucky we weren't victims of euthanasia; we

were only sterilised. I had no full anaesthetic and the whole thing was finished in about two hours. It was depressing and oppressive. I felt like half a human being."

Many black people living in Berlin joined the circus, the Afrika Show, to escape persecution. Nazi authorities took over the circus in 1940 and used it for propaganda purposes.

Others appeared in films and became employees of the Babelsberg studios.

"We turned up and played the crowds, the *hot police* in films like *Rongo Express* and *Auntie Wanda from Uganda*," said Werner Egimone from Berlin.

"We loved it. We met movie stars and we blacks could get together. Outside the door you could be arrested, but inside you were as safe as a bank."

But as Germany invaded surrounding countries many black residents were rounded up and sent to concentration camps.

Johnny Voste, a Belgian resistance fighter, was deported to Dachau after being arrested for "sabotage".

"We were treated like animals and beasts by the SS," said Willy Sel, Mr Voste's friend.

## Asbestos dumping 'to be blamed on gypsies'

Christopher Elliott

**A**WORKMAN who yesterday claimed he was paid £400 to dump bags of lethal blue asbestos around the city of Birmingham said the plan was to blame gypsies for the dumping.

As workers made safe the last of the six sites in Aston and Erdington where plastic bags of asbestos were left over the weekend, a man claimed he was one of a gang of casual labourers paid to bag the asbestos at a building site.

"Five of us were hired to work on the site," he said. "I'm signing on and we were given a tenner a day for this. We were given a couple of shovels and a few bags. I told our boss he should not dump the stuff."

"He then paid another of

the lads £350 and gave him precise instructions on where to dump it. He said it would be blamed on the gypsies because there had been a lot of trouble with them."

The asbestos came from the site of Heller Screw and Rivet Co in Aston, Birmingham, an engineering company that employs 14 people. It was having part of the roof renewed.

Phil Rose, managing director, said the company called in contractors, M and M Joyce, to do the work.

"They showed us papers to say that while they couldn't remove asbestos themselves they were licensed to employ third parties to do it," he said. "The first we knew of a problem was when a bobby came knocking on our door."

He said the firm paid £18,500 to M and M Joyce to

remove and replace the roof but he had now received an £80,000 estimate to decontaminate the factory.

Martyn Joyce, managing director of M and M Joyce, confirmed yesterday that his firm did not have an asbestos disposal licence and said he was shocked that his firm was linked to the asbestos scare.

He said: "I feel we have done everything correctly in the way it should have been done but things have gone wrong and we have to get to the bottom of this and apportion the blame accordingly."

Five children and a woman shopworker had been identified as handling the asbestos.

## Heseltine's diary too full to attend Tory conference

Ewen MacAskill, Chief Political Correspondent

**T**HE former cabinet minister Michael Heseltine confirmed yesterday he will not attend next week's Tory conference, an absence which will disappoint activists who regard him as one of the star turns.

Conservative Central Office denied his decision was a snub to the new party leader, William Hague. A spokesman said that when Central Office contacted him, he had given as his reason that it was "time to hand over to the next generation of Conservatives".

Mr Heseltine's theatrical deliveries attracted a huge, enthusiastic following, though over the last few years his performances looked increasingly tired.

The Central Office source said: "We were aware he was not coming. We did not think it was an issue."

Mr Hague, questioned during a visit to Belfast about Mr Heseltine, refused to comment.

Mr Heseltine had been a potential candidate to replace John Major, but he suffered chest pains immediately after the General Election, a reminder of his heart attack four years ago, and his wife, Anne, immediately ruled him out of the leadership race.

## Uphill climb for women in the police

Duncan Campbell  
Crime Correspondent

**M**ALE police officers do not like taking orders from women, according to research published yesterday.

Although a small number of women have reached the senior ranks, most others find it difficult to gain acceptance as detectives and in specialist fields, the survey says.

Jennifer Brown, a forensic psychologist who has made studies of women in the police, spoke at the British Psychological Society's criminological conference at Churchill college, Cambridge, that women police officers were less likely to be promoted and less likely to receive training than their male colleagues.

Women officers were denied access to male-dominated areas such as detective investigations and high-speed driving, she found. On the rare occasions when women were promoted to senior positions, male colleagues found it difficult to take orders from them.

Dr Brown, a senior lecturer at the University of Surrey, carried out an international research study looking at forces in 35 different countries. She found that the United States was at the forefront of equal opportunity policies. The United Kingdom stood up well by comparison with other European, Australian and African forces.

But junior male officers in Britain were often resistant to senior women officers. "Sometimes it takes the form of dumb insolence," she said, "or the exclusion [of the woman officer] from information."

Junior male officers might also question an instruction in a way that they would not with a male officer.

There are now two women chief constables, Pauline Clare of Lancashire, and Elizabeth Neville of Wiltshire. "All credit to them, but they are exceptional," said Dr Brown. "There was now a vacuum below the women of chief officer rank despite the fact that 14 per cent of the service in England and Wales was now female. There was a scarcity of women detectives leading key investigations."

Dr Brown said that the same attitude that had made it hard for women to join the police originally — physical strength, marriage and children — was now operating to prevent them from advancing. Not all senior police-women had experienced this and not all male officers resented them, but the general problems faced by women officers 20 years ago still remained.

Malcolm Young, a senior research fellow at Hull university and a former police superintendent, told the conference that official attempts to rid the service of derogatory words for women officers had driven discrimination underground.

Last week, PC Kay Kellaway won a claim for sex discrimination against Thames Valley police. PC Kellaway, aged 34, said she was called "whore, bitch and slag".

He has added to his vulnerability by saying the party has to back him or sack him, and the outcome of the ballot to be announced next week will be equivocal given the turn-out, even if he receives a majority.

A Central Office spokesman said of Mr Heseltine, who for decades has automatically left the second week in October free for the conference: "He has previous engagements. He has a full diary. He has discussed the issue with the party chairman, Lord Parkinson."

He added: "We would be delighted to see Mr Heseltine at the conference but he feels the shadow cabinet have a case to put and should put that case at Blackpool."

## Student in army rape case had group sex, court told

Stuart Miller

**A**STUDENT allegedly gang-raped by six soldiers at a military college failed to tell police she had indulged in group sex with one defendant and another soldier because she was afraid nobody would believe she had been raped, a court heard yesterday.

The woman, aged 23 at the time, also admitted at Oxford crown court she had not told police about a sexual encounter with another defendant on the day of the alleged attack.

Captain Philip Bates, aged 26, Captain Ian Barlow, 29, Lieutenant Matthew Tupling, 24, Officer Cadet Andrew Stout, 20, and Officer Cadet Nicholas Oettinger, 20, deny raping the student "by joint enterprise" in May last year.

The prosecution alleges the attack occurred after the student and a friend, wrapped in towels, joined the six naked soldiers in a sauna at the Royal Military College of Science in Shrivenham, Oxfordshire after drinking at a village fête. She fled the sauna after Tupling urinated on her, and was dressing in Bates's room when the sol-

diers barged in and raped her repeatedly.

Under cross-examination, the student said she had not reported the attack for six months as she was afraid she would not be believed.

Stuart Montrose, defending Oettinger, asked why in her first statement to police she had not revealed she had sex with his client and another officer, Lt Rupert Whiting, who has not been charged, 10 days before the alleged attack.

She replied: "I thought if they thought I had slept with two men they would not believe me about the six."

She also deliberately failed to mention that she and Stout fondled each other during the fête, he said.

Earlier, the student broke down as she told the jury how Bartlett had attacked her twice, spitting on her when he had difficulty penetrating her the second time.

But Mr Montrose told her: "I suggest you have lied to the police and the court about what took place in the sauna. You went to Bates's room in the knowledge you were going to have sex and prepared to have a good time."

The case continues.



# French bishops apologise to Jews

The Catholic Church has made a public and historic mea culpa for its wartime support of the Vichy regime, writes Alex Duval Smith in Drancy

IN AN emotional ceremony at the site of a second world war deportation camp, France's Roman Catholic bishops appealed to Jews last night to hear our words of repentance for the Church's complicity in 73,000 Holocaust deaths.

The unprecedented mea culpa, which some Jewish leaders privately fear could prompt a backlash, included an admission that the pro-Vichy wartime French Church had displayed a "narrow vision of its mission", and that its leaders were guilty of "loyalism and docility far beyond traditional obedience [to a government]".

The declaration of repentance, delivered by the bishop of Saint-Denis, whose diocese includes a housing es-

tate built on the site of the former deportation camp at Drancy, north of Paris, is seen as a sign that the Pope intends soon to apologise for the Vatican's collusion with fascists and the Nazi regime.

Historians have repeatedly pointed out that the Roman Catholic Church in France failed to condemn anti-Jewish laws passed by the Vichy government after the German occupation in 1940.

The measures, passed on October 3 1940, barred Jews from owning property or practising professions such as law, medicine and teaching. From the summer of 1942, when large-scale deportations from France began, the laws made it easy for police to trace Jews.

The apology — timed to coincide with the 57th anniversary of the introduction of the laws — went much further than statements two years ago by the German and Polish Catholic Churches, delivered on the 50th anniversary of the liberation of the first concentration camps.

The French Church has denied that the timing of the apology is linked to the opening on Wednesday of the trial of Maurice Papon, a former government minister, who is accused of sending 1,560 Jews to their deaths between 1942 and 1944. He is 87.

Last night Magr Olivier de Berranger, the Bishop of Saint-Denis, told Jewish and Roman Catholic leaders gathered at Drancy: "As well as its narrow vision of the mission of the Church, the hierarchy showed a lack of understanding of the enormous global disaster which was taking place."

In his half-hour address, delivered beside a railway cattle wagon which stands as a permanent memorial in the centre of the housing estate, Magr de Berranger said: "The Church, at a time when it was called to act on a disfunctioning social fabric and enjoyed considerable power and influence, could have blocked the irreparable."

Adding that several French clerics and numerous members of religious orders had spoken out or provided hiding places for Jews, he said that nevertheless "one has to ask oneself whether individual acts of charity and solidarity are sufficient to honour the call of greater justice".

His address, which was reported to have taken months to prepare and was approved by Jewish leaders, accused the wartime bishops of "acquiescing through silence to flagrant breaches of human rights". It accused priests of perpetuating "the teachings of contempt".

Prominent Jews privately fear the speech could prompt a backlash

spiritual authorities, steeped in loyalty and docility... remained locked in an attitude of conformism and prudence.

"This was dictated in part by fears of reprisals... and did not take into account that

Several prominent French Jews who saw the speech before it was delivered privately expressed alarm at its strength, fearing such self-criticism could prompt a backlash.

Some traditionalists in the French Church are close to the National Front. The extremist party's leader, Jean-Marie Le Pen, said the apology was "scandalous", because it "blames people who were alive 50 years ago, when everyone knows that the Church showed compassion towards persecuted people, including Jews".

Serge Klarsfeld, a leading Jewish lawyer who campaigns for fuller information about French collaboration, said the thousands of French lay people and clergy who put their lives at risk to hide Jews should not be forgotten.

"The Church could have done more to prevent the laws from going through in 1940, but after the deportations began in July 1942 its leaders were very much more outspoken than the religious hierarchy in other countries."

Mr Klarsfeld said that opposition from Church leaders — who initially supported the Vichy regime out of anti-communism and for its *marinisme* (family, fatherland, labour) — prevented the worst excesses of anti-Semitism from reaching France.

"About 75,000 Jews were deported from France to Nazi death camps. But France had a total of 300,000 Jews and many were protected by Catholics," he said.

Leader comment, page 8

## 'Vodka binges' blamed for male death rate

James Meek in Moscow

RUSSIAN drinking habits, the easy availability of cheap alcohol, and smoking have played the biggest role in the catastrophic drop in male life expectancy in the 1990s, scientists from a British-Russian health research project told a conference on the country's mortality crisis yesterday.

Their conclusions, which were greeted with scepticism by the local medical establishment, will be controversial in the West too because they suggest that binge drinking of spirits can directly cause heart failure. Previously alcohol was thought to kill indirectly as a result of violence, or over time as a result of diseases like cirrhosis of the liver.

The new research, funded by the British government's "know-how" fund, contradicts the Russian opposition view that the economic crisis which followed the collapse of the Soviet Union is largely to blame for the curtailed lives of Russian men compared to other Europeans.

Men's life expectancy at birth has plunged by six years to 58 since 1990. Every second man aged 20 will die before he reaches 60, compared to one in 10 Britons.

"Yes, compared to Western countries the Russian health service is grossly underfunded," said one of the British researchers at the Moscow conference, Dr David Leon of the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine.

"But even if the health service was optimised it wouldn't make a substantial impact on the gap between Russia and the rest of the world, because the gap comes from the factors which give rise to disease in the first place."

The free market made low-quality vodka relatively cheaper than ever before and available anywhere. By 1993 men were drinking the equivalent of a bottle of vodka every two days.

Russian men drink large amounts of vodka in short binges. Half a bottle of neat vodka in 30 minutes is considered a moderate night's work.

Official Russian statistics put only 2 per cent of deaths down to alcohol. But the research team says the pattern of deaths after peak Russian drinking times can only be explained by sudden alcohol-induced heart failure.

"Evidence is emerging that heavy binge drinking gives rise to deaths from heart failure due to very high levels of alcohol actually damaging the electrical properties of the heart," said Dr Leon.

Russian delegates disputed

Every second Russian man aged 20 will die before he reaches 60

the findings, arguing that aside from bad medical care — next year's budget allocates just \$6.60 per head for health — poverty, stress, crime, unemployment and depression are more likely to reduce life expectancy.

But a Russian member of the research group, Vladimir Shkolnikov, pointed to Armenia, which endured even harsher post-Soviet conditions than Russia — not just economic collapse but war and an energy crisis. There, with different drinking traditions, life expectancy had fallen by only 2.2 years.

● The government's final report yesterday on the Mir collision seemed to back off from an earlier finding that blamed human error.

A summary said only that an "unfavourable combination of factors" had caused an overloaded, unmanned cargo ship to crash into Mir in June. — AP.

## Slovakia's prime minister wages round-the-clock war on president

Nick Thorpe in Budapest

A DIGITAL clock mounted on a building facing the presidential palace in Bratislava has become the latest battleground in a long-running feud between the Slovak government and its president.

It shows a countdown, in days, hours and minutes, of President Michal Kovac's remaining term in office. It was put up by an advertising agency which, according to a report on an independent Slovak television station, is close to the government.

The prime minister, Vladimir Meciar, and the president are former allies and co-founders of the government party, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, which took Slovakia to independence in 1993. But Mr Meciar blamed President Kovac for bringing down one of his previous governments, and has since become his most bitter opponent, trying to oust him for the past four years.

The prime minister has managed to strip the president of all the functions of his office not specifically protected by the constitution, and to deprive the presidency of most sources of income. One result was a long delay last year before the president could move into the renovated palace, because the presidency could not afford to furnish the building.

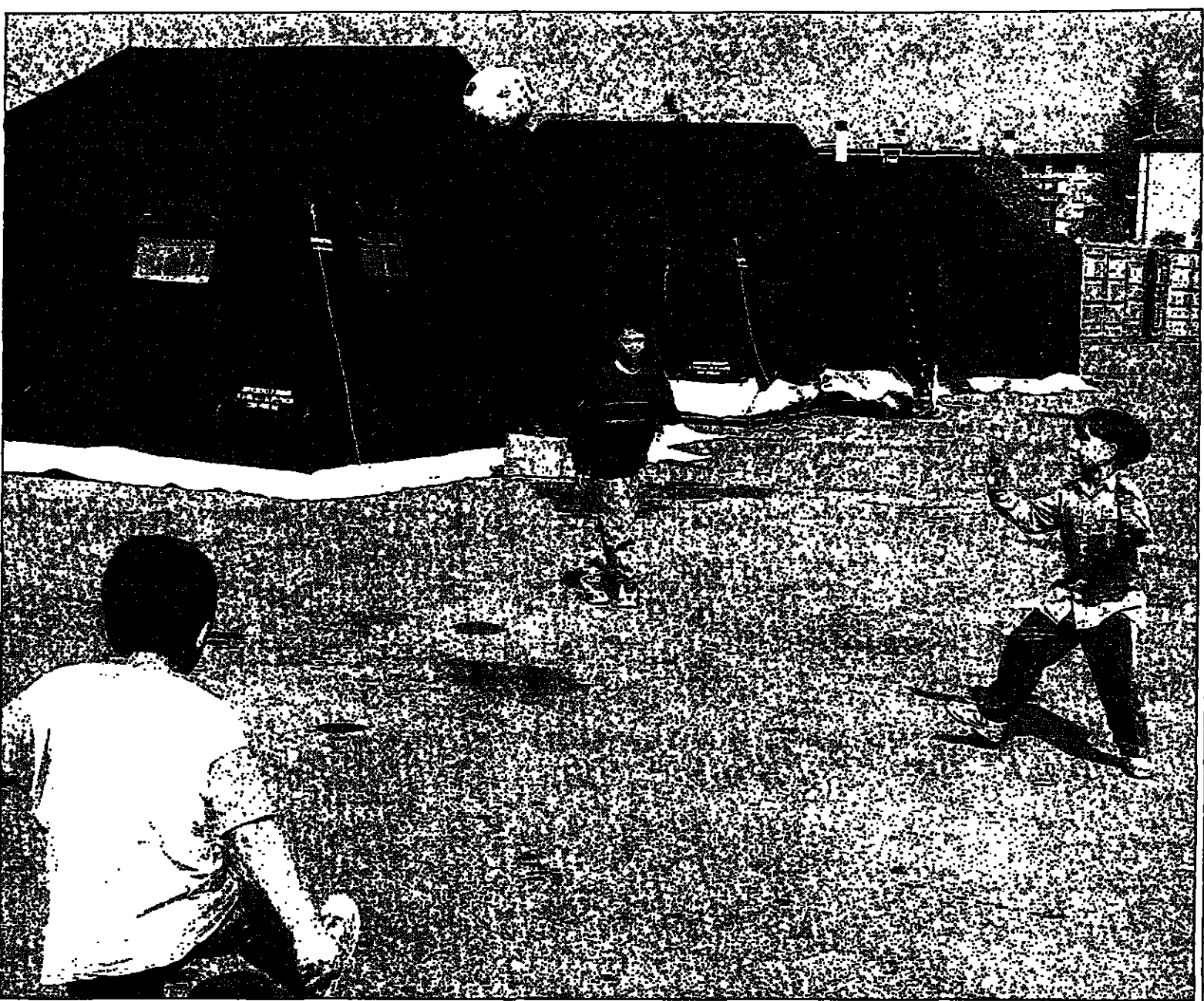
In another, much publicised, incident the president's son was kidnapped and dumped outside a police station in neighbouring Austria. At the subsequent trial a former agent of the Slovak secret service testified that the service had carried out the kidnapping at the government's orders, to discredit the president.

Yesterday's day column on the clock showed 138, suggesting that the term expires on February 15 1998. But even this is fiercely disputed by the president, who says it actually expires 15 days later, on March 2.

There were still 'huge amounts of embarrassment' in public. Molly would often take her clothes off, her teeth out and her breasts out in restaurants. Growing up with Molly Parkin

G2 page 8

## After Italy's earthquake



Children in Foligno play football yesterday beside tents set up to shelter those forced out of their homes by Friday's quake

PHOTOGRAPH: LUCA BRUNO

## Brave mayor saves Gozzoli frescos

A local hero risked his life to preserve art treasures, writes Philip Willan in Rome

PROMPT and courageous action to save the treasured frescos of Benozzo Gozzoli from last Friday's earthquake has turned Luigi Gambacurta, the mayor of the small town of Montefalco, into a local hero.

While elsewhere the earthquake has brought controversy over alleged looting, delays in the rescue operation and the decisions that cost the lives of four people in the Assisi basilica, Mr Gambacurta has become a symbol of his community's resistance in the face of adversity.

"We just did our duty. Together with the other ad-

ministrators we did everything in our power to save the Gozzoli frescos," he said. Gozzoli, a pupil of Beato Angelico and the founder of an important Umbrian school of painting, died on October 4 1497.

"After what has happened, we intend to celebrate the fifth centenary of his death with even greater enthusiasm," Mr Gambacurta said. "Gozzoli began his artistic career in Montefalco and his frescos here are of fundamental importance for the history of early Renaissance art."

The mayor, who is also a teacher, went first to check on the school building on

Friday morning before turning his mind to Gozzoli, whose radiant frescos grace the walls of the Church of San Francesco — now the civic museum.

"We inspected the vault through a telescope and found that the earthquake during the night had caused one of its main supporting ribs to bend, exposing some of the bricks. If that had given way, the whole vault would have come down," he said.

Mr Gambacurta immediately procured scaffolding and work was under way to support the rib and cover the frescos with gauze when the second, devastating earthquake struck at 11.42am.

"The roof could have come down at any moment. We were virtually holding

it up with our hands. It was extremely frightening," he said. "One needs an element of luck and in Assisi they were unlucky. We were able to take action and we were lucky."

Gozzoli's frescos, which cover one wall and the apse of the deconsecrated church, borrow heavily from the now damaged cycle by Giotto in Assisi. Art experts have praised Mr Gambacurta's prompt intervention and said that the large cracks that have appeared in Gozzoli's works can be repaired.

The mayor's work has also helped to ensure the survival of the museum's other masterpieces, which include a Madonna by Perugino and works by a number of medieval Umbrian artists.

## Court frees judges

Denis Staunton in Berlin

SEVEN former East German prosecutors and judges who conducted two unfair trials of one of the most prominent critics of the communist regime were acquitted yesterday by a court in Frankfurt-am-der-Oder.

Robert Havemann, a scientist, was put under house arrest in 1976 after leading a protest against the expulsion from East Germany of the dissident songwriter Wolf Biermann.

Three years later, Havemann was convicted on a trumped-up charge of illegal currency dealing. He died in 1982 but was posthumously rehabilitated when both convictions were quashed after German reunification.

Yesterday the court acquitted the former legal officials of perverting the course of justice because it could not be proved that they knowingly allowed their actions to be influenced by the East German secret police. They insisted that they were applying the law of the land at the time.

A member of the German Communist Party since 1932, Havemann fought in the resistance against Hitler and supported the East German state after the end of the second world war.

He became disillusioned with the regime's authoritarian tendencies and was expelled from the party and stripped of his professorship at East Berlin's Humboldt University after publishing his polemic *Dialectic without Dogma* in 1964. Although he never abandoned socialism, Havemann became East Germany's leading dissident.

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# Clinton told to act on global warming

Paul Brown  
Environment Correspondent

**M**ORE than 1,500 of the world's most distinguished scientists have signed a declaration urging world leaders to act immediately to prevent the "potentially devastating consequences of human-induced global warming".

The petition, supported by 104 of the 138 surviving recipients of Nobel prizes in the sciences, was presented to President Clinton yesterday. It is intended as a counterblast to an intense lobbying campaign by US industry aimed at preventing progress at the climate talks due in Kyoto, Japan, in December.

The next few days are crucial in the battle for the hearts and minds of America. Mr Clinton has a White House seminar on Monday to advise on binding targets and timetables for reducing carbon dioxide emissions in the US up to the year 2010.

Mr Clinton made a personal commitment at the Earth Summit review conference at the United Nations in New York in June to set targets for the Kyoto meeting. But he has been subjected to a propaganda offensive ever since.

The Climate Change Coalition — set up by the oil, coal and motor industries — has spent £10 million on television advertising in the past six weeks alone. It has financed dubious science showing that global warming is

## Asia will take years to recover from smog damage, says UN

**T**HE United Nations yesterday described bush fires in Indonesia as an environmental emergency which would affect individual health and the well-being of Asian economies for years.

Jakarta's neighbours, particularly Malaysia, have borne the brunt of a smog caused by fires which have raged for weeks in Sumatra and the Indonesian part of Borneo island.

UN experts, in Jakarta to co-ordinate international efforts to douse the flames, warned that even if the fires are controlled soon the pollution after-effects could linger.

"The long-term effects are in health, economic health, social and ecological areas," said Ravi Rajan, the UN's chief representative. "This will probably last a few years." — Reuters.

caused by sunspots, and has claimed that action to cut carbon dioxide emissions will cost jobs, increase taxes and make America less competitive.

Yesterday's petition was presented to Mr Clinton at a conference in Washington by the Nobel laureate Henry Kendall, chairman of the Union of Concerned Scientists. He said: "Let there be no doubt about the conclusions

of the scientific community that the threat of global warming is very real and action is needed immediately. It is a grave error to believe that we can continue to procrastinate."

Dudley Herschbach, another Nobel prize winner and professor of chemistry at Harvard University, said: "This is a wake-up call for world leaders. Never before has the

senior scientific community spoken so boldly on the urgent need to prevent disruption to our climate."

Scientists first addressed world leaders on the issue four years ago, when they warned: "Our current practices put at serious risk the future that we wish for human society and the plant and animal kingdoms."

Over four years have passed, and progress has been woefully inadequate. Some of the most serious problems have worsened. Invaluable time has been squandered because so few leaders have risen to the challenge.

Environment groups are alarmed by the poor progress in climate change talks.

The 170 countries which signed the Climate Change

Convention in Rio de Janeiro are supposed to meet in Kyoto to set targets and timetables to reduce emissions for the first 20 years of the next century. Australia, Japan and Canada are dragging their feet, and Robin Cook, the Foreign Secretary, told a fringe meeting at the Labour conference in Brighton this week that he was not optimistic.

He said the US held the key because its citizens accounted for 22 per cent of the world's emissions of carbon dioxide.

The US is already exceeding by 14 per cent its target of stabilising emissions at 1990 levels by the year 2000. The European target of a 15 per cent cut by 2010 has been rejected by the White House as too demanding.

Mr Clinton's main political

problem is a unanimous Senate vote not to agree to anything in Kyoto unless China and other rapidly developing countries also agree to reductions. But these countries argue that the industrialised world caused the problem and so should be the first to take steps to solve it. Developing countries' priority is improving their populations' living standards. But the science suggests they will be the first victims of climate change.

Kyoto is seen by many as the last chance to advance the world environment agenda.

BP will begin seeking ways to limit the greenhouse gases it emits, as a "constructive contribution" to halting global warming, its chief executive, John Browne, said in Berlin yesterday.

## UN inspects America's death row

Ed Vulliamy in Washington

**T**HE United States is being put under the kind of scrutiny by the United Nations that it usually urges for other countries as an international team investigating its use of the death penalty tours the south this week.

The UN inquiry is being led by Bacre Ndiaye, a leading human rights investigator from Senegal. He is the second such UN monitor of the US. The first was on racism in 1992.

Like his predecessor, Mr Ndiaye was initially welcomed by the administration, which approved his tour last year.

or arbitrary executions".

The commission passed a resolution in 1986 in which it declared itself "deeply alarmed at the persistence, on a large scale, of extra-judicial, summary or arbitrary executions". The latter includes any death ordered by a court.

After the resolution, Mr Ndiaye published an extensive report on the death penalty worldwide.

'And what's it like on death row in Senegal, I'd like to know'

Requests were made to meet President Clinton and Vice-President Al Gore. Mr Ndiaye says he was especially eager to meet the attorney-general, Janet Reno, and representatives of the supreme court.

But these have been refused. During the first few days of his tour, visiting prisons and trying to talk to politicians, Mr Ndiaye has had to be content with junior officials, two congressmen, and no senators.

Officials at the UN were anxious to point out, however, that Mr Ndiaye was touring Washington during the penultimate week of the congressional term, and that politicians were "very, very busy".

In the section on the US he said he was deeply concerned about reports of cases "which were allegedly blatantly tainted by racial bias" and about reports indicating that defendants "did not have adequate defence during trials".

He also said he wanted to investigate "particularly disturbing" reports of mentally handicapped people being put to death in defiance of the convention.

Mr Ndiaye said during the current tour that the "overall aim" was to "work gradually towards the abolition of the death penalty", although the UN spokesman in Washington, Joe Sills, said this was not the purpose of the project.

In New York he secured an audience with the former governor Mario Cuomo, who is opposed to the death penalty, but did not meet Governor George Pataki.

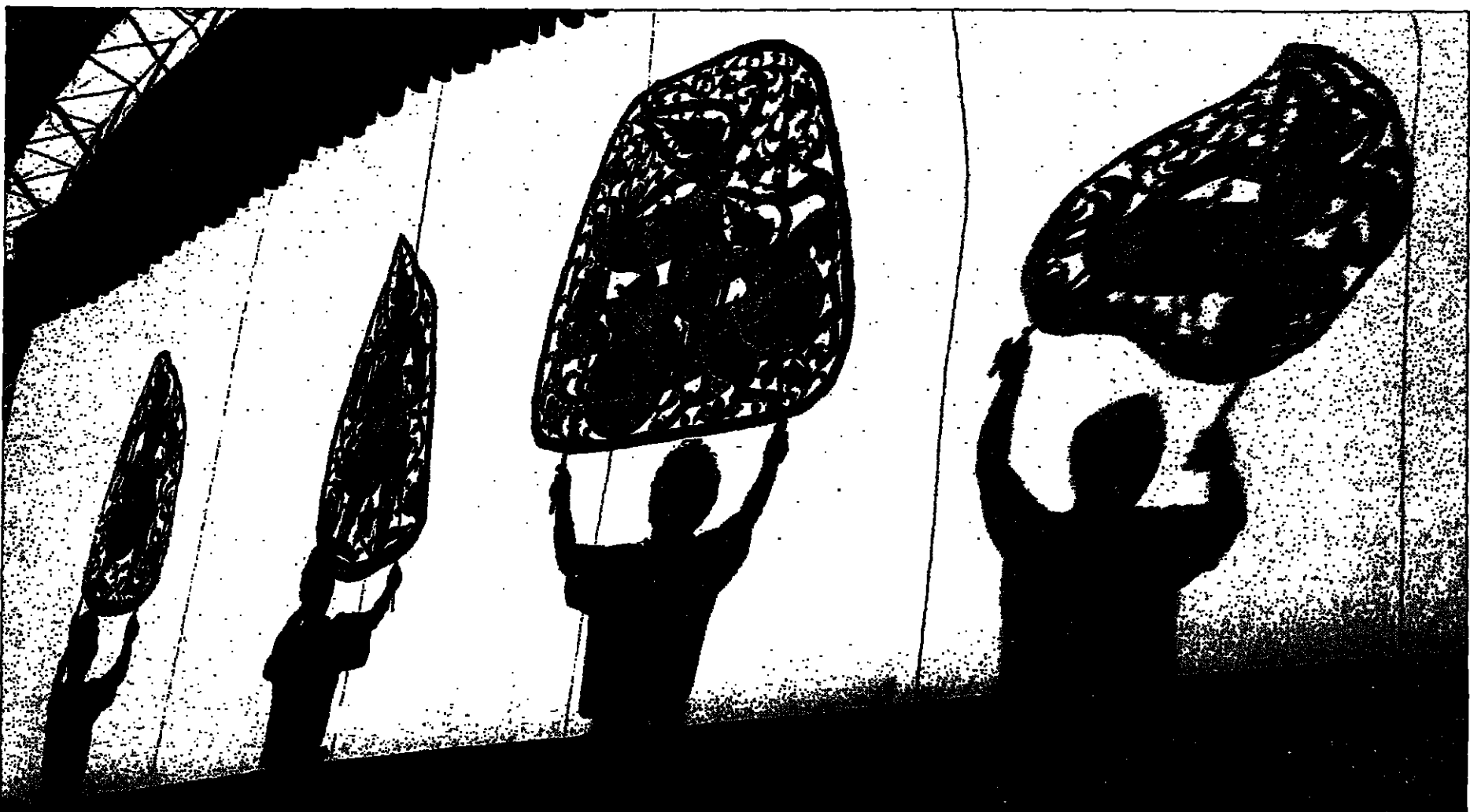
Mr Ndiaye seemed to have slightly better luck yesterday in Miami, capital of Florida, the state that rates second in the execution top 10, after Texas, where he visited the Broward county prison before meeting the city police chief.

Mr Ndiaye visits Texas tomorrow, where he has a meeting with the state's chief public defender of those facing death row. His final tour will be of California.

Mr Ndiaye was appointed under the auspices of the UN Commission on Human Rights, which urges member states to enforce an international convention curbing the expansion of "summary

Mr Helms, who fought against the recent US policy of the death row in the UN, was not available yesterday to comment on Mr Ndiaye's tour.

But an official in his office said: "Sounds like it's none of his business. And what's it like on death row in Senegal, I'd like to know."



The Cambodia National Theatre in Phnom Penh performs the ancient art of shadow puppetry, wielding cowhide puppets against a back-lit canvas

PHOTOGRAPH: DAVID VAN DER VEEN

## Fear of hoax delays book

Joanna Coles in New York

**I**T WAS supposed to be a sensational find which would rewrite the legend of the explorer Marco Polo. According to the manuscript, purportedly from the 13th century, a Jewish Italian merchant called Jacob D'Ancona visited China four years before Marco Polo and wrote diaries chronicling hitherto unknown details about life there.

David Selbourne, an Oxford academic, was given the documents in Italy, translated them and proclaimed them genuine. They were to be published next month in a volume called *The City of Light*.

But yesterday the New York publisher Little, Brown said it was postponing publication because it was unsure the material on which the

book is based was genuine. Several academics were also sceptical. Jonathan Spence, a specialist in Chinese history at Yale, said he doubted the documents' veracity.

Philip Harrison, chief executive of Little, Brown UK, refused to comment on her parent company's decision, but said: "It is inconceivable that the book is a hoax."

She said she had expected rival scholars to pour scorn on Mr Selbourne's efforts. "It's part of that world, everyone defends their territory."

"It was written largely in Italian, Hebrew, Latin, Greek and Arabic. For anyone to have written that on vellum as a hoax..."

But she said she had not seen the originals, nor had they been carbon-dated. She could not explain why their unidentified owner had approached Mr Selbourne.

## Words of peace ring hollow as Netanyahu accused of reneging

Julian Borger in Jerusalem

**T**HE ISRAELI-Palestinian agreement to resume peace talks began to ring hollow yesterday, only hours after it was clinched with United States help in New York, as the Israeli prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, vowed to continue expanding Jewish settlements in the occupied territories.

Palestinian leaders accused Mr Netanyahu of reneging on Monday's agreement to consider a pause in settlement construction as part of a new round of talks aimed at implementing earlier accords and paving the way for a comprehensive Israeli-Palestinian peace deal.

The US secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, said Monday's deal had halted a "downward spiral" in relations, but critics said Mr Netanyahu's defiant remarks exposed the emptiness of the agreement.



Israeli soldiers guard the Beit Hadassah settlement in Hebron

PHOTOGRAPH: NAYEF HASHLAMOUN

## Green policy tainted by racial slant

A claim that immigration threatens the environment has split the ecology movement, writes Christopher Reed in Los Angeles

**T**HE long flirtation of some United States environmentalists with racist views on population and immigration has been exposed by an ideological dispute within a leading green organisation, the San Francisco-based Sierra Club.

The club, a leader of the mainstream environmental movement in the US, was founded in 1892 by an immigrant Scottish conservationist, John Muir, who described Indians as filthy savages.

On its annual ballot next March the club is putting before its 550,000 members a proposal which reverses its neutrality on US population growth, supports the notion that over-population is the crucial environmental menace facing America, and claims that immigrants are the main contributors towards it.

Either outcome to this dispute could damage the

US ecological movement. A victory for the neo-Malthusians would alienate important support from immigrant groups and their politicians, cause the resignation of Sierra staff and members, and fracture the troubled mainstream green movement in America.

Followers of the 19th century English clergyman Thomas Malthus argue that unrestrained human breeding threatens the world with disaster.

Defeat for the proposition would halt long-sought alliances between mainstream and environmental groups which, although politically risky, would accord with establishment green thinking. Many of them believe the influx of poor (and non-white) newcomers threatens the country's resources, and thus its environment.

"This has always been an embarrassing agenda in the

US movement," says Jeffrey St Clair, editor of the *Wild Forest Review*. "The history here goes back 100 years, when key conservationists advocated enforced limitation on people's reproduction that was dangerously close to Nazi eugenics later on."

Contemporary thinkers like the Stanford University biologist Paul Erlich, whose 1968 best-seller *The Population Explosion*, published by the Sierra Club, forecast ecological disaster from the "population explosion", have continued the tradition. Dr Erlich's wife, who with her husband has advocated enforced sterilisation, is a club board member.

Leading greens in the Big Six moderate eco-groups in the US have long been associated with factions such as Zero Population Growth, which argues that America's population growth, of which 55 per cent comes

from immigrants and their children, menaces its natural resources.

They are opposed by a progressive bloc which says that consumption, not reproduction, is the problem, and that prosperity lowers birth rates. Brad Erickson of the Political Ecology Group, stresses that the US, with 5 per cent of the world's population, uses a third of its resources.

"The board of directors of Chevron petroleum consumes 100 times the resources of a score of villages in Bangladesh. It's always the poor and wretched who are asked to stop breeding, never the people advocating the idea. It's a class and racist based attitude," he said.

He calls the neo-Malthusian view "the greening of hate", in which "environmental arguments are used to disguise a racist desire to make America white".

"My group represents non-whites interested in the ecology. To say they or their views are inferior is a racist insult," he said.

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since 1992, and there are more than 300,000 in the West Bank and East Jerusalem alone. They have dramatically tilted the political scene by establishing themselves on land which Palestinians expected to become the core of an independent state after the 1993 Oslo peace accords.

The last round of peace implementation talks broke down in March after work started on a new Jewish settlement on Arab land in Hebron, south-east of Jerusalem.

Tension was further increased by the Jewish occupation last month of houses in another Arab district of Jerusalem, Ras al-Amoud.

Israeli-Palestinian relations foundered altogether after two suicide bomb attacks in Jerusalem in July and September by the Islamic militant group Hamas.

Jerusalem's mayor, Ehud Olmert, said yesterday that Jewish settlements in East Jerusalem would continue whatever happened at the ne-

gotiating table. Mr Olmert's often stated aim is to ring the city with Jewish neighbourhoods, pre-empting Palestinian claims on the eastern districts as a future national capital.

Observers say the longer the settlements are allowed to grow, the more difficult it will be for an Israeli government to order a halt, let alone surrender them to any future Palestinian state.

The crux of the deal brokered by Mrs Albright was that in return for the Palestinian Authority's continued suppression of Hamas, peace talks would resume along two tracks.

**N**EXT Monday, eight technical committees are due to resume work — abandoned six months ago — on the implementation of a Palestinian airport and seaport in Gaza and a permanent safe-passage route for Palestinians between Gaza and the West Bank. A week later higher-level talks should

open in Washington on the bigger issues, including joint counter-terrorist measures, Jewish settlements, Israeli troop withdrawals from the West Bank and Gaza, and the possibility of accelerated talks aimed at reaching a comprehensive Israeli-Palestinian agreement by next year.

After the Har Homa and Ras al-Amoud controversies, the Palestinian Authority vowed not to resume discussions until settlement construction was frozen, but in New York its negotiators accepted considerably less than a freeze. All they were promised was a "time-out" (break) from "unilateral actions" (diplomatic code for the construction of settlements and the bulldozing of Palestinian homes).

Mr Netanyahu made the Palestinian climbdown abundantly clear yesterday morning when he told journalists: "You know we are building in the settlements, and making natural growth of the settlements possible, and I don't intend to change our policy."

## Blair's affordable vision

Behind his tactics lies an impressive strategy

THE MANTRA is the staple of modern political rhetoric. The theme of a conference speech in the electronic age emerges through the constant repetition of key words and phrases, some aimed at the audience in the hall, others at the television audience beyond. The most loaded words in yesterday's mantra were unmissable: Britain, British, country, nation, people, modernise, change, reform, hard choices, duty, vision, compassion, giving. The first five words in that string were repeated nearly 150 times in all. There was no doubt that audience Tony Blair was preoccupied with it. It was the speech of a Prime Minister to his country rather than a leader to his party.

There was almost no seaside political knockabout, few jibes at the defeated enemy. It was a speech which coupled enlightened patriotism with doses of hard realism and tinges of McMurran Christianity. It did not set the hall alight in quite the way that might have been anticipated after the 18-year drought. Some of the patriotic rhetoric — full of shining beacons and visions of greatness-once-more — verged on deepish purple. But, in general, it was a thoughtful, disciplined and skilfully balanced speech, which was received inside the hall with enthusiasm and respect. The surface was all warmth, but underneath there was a steely determination. Mr Blair wants two terms.

He wants to go down as the leader of a government which will be "remembered for all time... one of the great, radical, reforming governments in British history." He is for compassion, but compassion with a hard edge. Greatness as a nation can only come about through hard choices. Hard choices can only be realised by modernisation.

Though he seemed more at ease with his own party — there was little of the hectoring tone of previous years — Mr

Blair is not about to let it sit back and luxuriate in the fruits of victory. "Hard choices" is barely-concealed code for a wholesale attack on the structure of welfare and benefits, with a shift from public to private, and from funding provision to organising provision. He wants to be seen as a modern man leading a modern country.

But first the country must recognise the extent of its modern crisis. An Old Labour speech would have unceremoniously dumped the blame for the crisis in health, welfare, education, crime and the family firmly at the door of 18 years of Tory misrule. This was an altogether more grown-up speech. There were no magic wands or instant answers. The specific new initiatives, slipped in as he went along, were of a relatively modest nature: further advances in the cabling-up and computerisation of Britain's schools; one more new hospital; a reversal of the previous government's plans to cut back special-needs teaching. "A small, but important thing", Mr Blair called this last — welcome — stroke. Small but important things are pure Clinton. But Blair's flair for affordable, pragmatic politics is underpinned by an impressive vision and strategic sense, not to mention a 170-odd seat majority.

Mr Blair unashamedly paid tribute to Liberal heroes as well as Labour ones. House of Lords reform, an intolerance of crime, support for the family, a realistic commitment to improving educational and health provision, stringent economic controls... there would have been differences of emphasis, but there is little there that could not have come from William Hague or Paddy Ashdown. Mr Blair's great achievement is that, even four years ago, such a speech would have been impossible from a Labour leader. There are, indeed, hard choices ahead. But after yesterday, no one in his party can say they hadn't been warned.

## Helping Emma to university

There is still a serious gap in Blair's education revolution

EMMA from Ellesmere Port stepped into the spotlight yesterday. She had written to thank the Prime Minister for the summer schools which Labour introduced this year. The education of many other 11-year-olds has been helped by this programme — many of them from poor homes. But what happens when they get to 18? The chance of going on to university will be even less than today. Over the last 20 years, higher education in Britain has moved from an elite to a mass system, but access is still not open to all. Over 80 per cent of children in social class one (professional) families go on to university, compared to less than 20 per cent in social class five. Fewer than 10 per cent go from unskilled homes. One purpose of expanding higher education was to give bright children in poor homes new opportunities. Instead, the new places are going to less bright children from middle-income homes. A prime minister who rightly criticised past education policy for its concentration on the elite at the expense of all children, needs to look again at his proposals for university maintenance loans and tuition fees.

Labour was right to introduce tuition fees. Universities are in dire financial straits. They receive 50 per cent less per pupil than 20 years ago. Students from middle-income homes should make a contribution for the reason that the Dearing Committee set out in the summer — because of the benefits they receive from higher education and the

20 per cent gain, on average, they will achieve in earnings. The £1,000 annual tuition fee is only one-quarter of the cost. Where Labour has gone wrong is in withdrawing maintenance grants which children from low-income homes have until now been receiving. Our new analysis page set out the cost yesterday. Students from poor families, even though they will be exempted from the tuition fees, will end up owing £10,000 in maintenance loans — £5,000 more at present. Even though Labour's loans system will allow repayments over a longer period and at a lower rate than the current Tory scheme, more students from poor homes will be deterred. Far from widening opportunities, Labour has narrowed them.

What a radical government should have done was to continue the maintenance grants — and even increase them — for poor students while introducing Blair bursaries for tuition fees. It could also introduce special allowances for poor pupils to stay on into sixth form. It is not too late. Although the unions are backing the Government's line, a united protest from the constituency section at today's Labour conference could still force ministers to review their position. A key test of Tony Blair's goal — to lead one of the great reforming governments in British history — is how much it widens opportunity. The current proposals are still designed for the few rather than all. Emma deserves a summer school place — and a chance to go on to university.

## A sorry tale of a delayed apology

Atonement won't be complete until the archives are opened

IT IS NEVER too late to apologise, but this particular account is long overdue. More than 75,000 French and foreign Jews would transit through the council estate of Drancy near Le Bourget airport before being loaded into cattle trucks. Only two bishops in the Southwest spoke out. There were many acts of individual resistance, but the hierarchy backed the Vichy regime.

Breaking the church's silence is no longer an act of courage or even controversy — except to the National Front leader Jean-Marie Le Pen who finds it an "absolute scandal". It is three years since the Pope asked Catholics to repent for failing in their moral duty to the Jews. Yesterday Parisian bishop Olivier de Berranger apologised for the sins of the church's fathers — to the descendants of those to whom the apology was owed. It had to be said because it hadn't been said before — but it has taken a long time.

Anti-semitism in the official church may have disappeared yet a reticence persisted — as it did too often elsewhere. Francois Mitterrand's ambiguous attitude imposed a constraint only removed two years ago when President Chirac declared Vichy to have been a criminal regime. Documentaries such as "The Sorrow and the Pity" were once kept off the TV screen. Now Vichy has become a daily theme in the run up to the trial of senior official Maurice Papon, accused of ordering deportations.

History still requires a fuller explanation. How far did the church's complicity stem from a doctrine which effectively denied that Jesus was a Jew? Were its leaders seduced by the possibility of re-establishment under Marshal Petain? Such questions can only be answered from the archives — still religiously closed. The church's most useful contribution now would be to throw them wide open.



## Letters to the Editor

In defence of my father

IT was painful to read Ian Aitken's abuse of my father, Hugh Gaitskell. (An old spectre at the feast, September 27). Whatever Hugh may have been, he was not a hater. Yes, he believed that the rearmament programme was necessary — this was the view of the Government, including [Nye] Bevan initially, yes, he shared the view of many in the Labour Party that pensions should be a priority.

The Budget was a compromise, worked out with spending departments, including Health, agreed by the Cabinet. It was based mainly on higher taxes, with a limit to growth in NHS spending to offset a rise in pensions.

Tackling NHS spending was not new. [Stafford] Cripps with other ministers had already taken steps to control it, including an option to make charges. Bevan himself introduced the framework for prescription charges in 1949 — not imposed in 1961, when charges were limited to contributions to the cost of false teeth and spectacles.

Of course, there was a power struggle and Hugh had a sticking point: he was not prepared to announce the spending limit without the means agreed to achieve it. He would not conceal or fudge the issue.

The differences between the two men at this time became wide-ranging and important. But my father's admiration for Bevan's gifts is on record right up to early 1961, which perhaps has a bearing on their later co-operation.

Julia McNeal  
 18 Froggatt Gardens,  
 London NW3 6XA.

NYE was wrong to ditch the unilateralists at the Brighton conference years ago. That was the time when action by Britain alone could have affected the course of events and the bomb might have been banned. Today, the focus is on the UN and it is at the international level that our country must exert its pressure for a nuclear-free world.

New Labour has expressed enthusiasm for the elimination of nuclear weapons and the way has been indicated by the Government's reduction of the operational power of the Trident fleet. Field Marshal Lord Carver and his fellow members of the Canberra Commission have marked out the course. Now is the time for Robin Cook to raise the matter at the Security Council.

Lord Jenkins of Putney,  
 75 Kenilworth Court,  
 Lower Richmond Road,  
 London SW15 1EN.

## I too was bullied

HOPE the unfortunate death of your report (Bullied girl kills herself, September 30) will make some realise the pain that bullying causes. It is hard to believe that children are born with the capability of hate, but it seems to develop in their formative years. For many years, I was taunted because of my size and the fact that my parents were divorced; I was made to feel like an outsider and very alone.

Primary school was an awful experience that made me, as an 11-year-old, try to commit suicide. It did not work, but the pain was still there.

I am now starting my second year at St Hilda's College, Oxford. I have good friends, people who see me for who I am and not what I look like. I am still fat and my parents are still divorced, but I no longer matters.

To those who have been bullied, and still believe the words that tormented them, I say: remember you have the same right to love and to be happy as they do.

Clare Alexander,  
 4 Church Lane,  
 Oxford OX4 1JL.

## An issue to rock Brighton

WE have four children, three of whom are at university and a fourth, Peter, who is in the sixth form (Blunkett gives no ground to critics, September 29). As an Anglican vicar my net income is about £9,500 a year and, together with my wife's income as a part-time teacher, our combined income is around £17,000. At present we make a parental contribution of £5 a year towards each of the children's maintenance grant and their tuition fees are paid. Even so, this will mean that two of our older three children will already leave university with debts of some £5,000 each. The third will face a debt of some £7,500 as hers is a four-year course.

If Peter chooses to go to university, he will face a debt of well over £15,000 when maintenance grants are withdrawn. This is an appalling burden to lay on someone at that stage of their life. Already our children take on holiday and part-time jobs to try and reduce this burden. They are working long hours for low pay and it is not helping their studies. I doubt also whether it is helping the local economy and people desperately seeking work to keep their families.

This proposal rankles above and beyond the unfair-

ness of our youngest son being asked to "earn" a very different situation from that of his older siblings.

Richer parents who can afford to pay much of the maintenance grant through a parental contribution will notice little difference. But parents in our situation will have to watch our children moonlighting in low-paid jobs and leaving university with a massive debt burden.

(Fr) David Mirmford,  
 St Peter's Vicarage,  
 Druridge Drive,  
 Newcastle upon Tyne NE5 3LP.

THE essence of Mr Blunkett's logic is that it costs the Government £18,000 more to educate someone to the point of getting first degree. This leads to his conclusion: "Let's not shed tears for those who are going to earn a great deal more money because of the degree they get".

But the majority of those who get a worthwhile first degree (or higher) will have put in an enormous amount of personal effort and, at the end of their working life (making some simple assumptions), will have paid about £250,000 more tax than those who didn't go on to further education and, quite possibly, lived off state support.

This represents an excellent return on an investment of

£18,000 and is far from the situation painted of "them earning a higher income while they make no contribution towards it". Is this the politics of envy revisited?

Peter Fields,  
 High Street,  
 Norley, Cheshire.

THERE is a sex discrimination aspect of the student tuition fees proposal which your graphic on graduate earnings demonstrates vividly (A learning curve too steep, September 30). While earnings for male and female graduates may top those of their non-graduate counterparts, the gap between male and female graduate earnings is far greater, with male graduates in their forties and fifties earning double that of female graduates of that age.

As the debt incurred by the introduction of tuition fees and abolition of maintenance grant will affect men and women students equally, the conclusion must be that many female graduates will be landed with a lifetime of debt. They will still be paying off their student debt by the time their daughters want to go to university.

(Dr) Liz Allen,  
 Head, Higher Education Unit,  
 NATFHE, The University &  
 College Lecturers' Union,  
 27 Britania Street,  
 London WC1X 8JP.

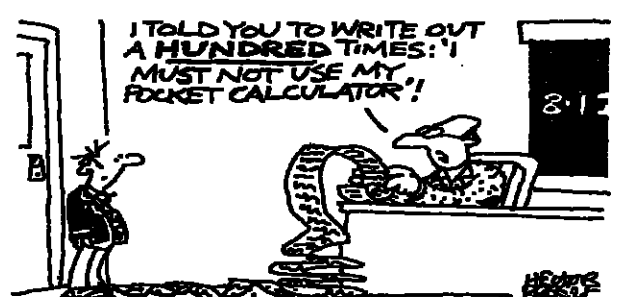
## Feedback

TWENTY years ago, I not only allowed my 15-year-old daughter to smoke cannabis at home for similar reasons to Janet Waleman (Letters, September 29), but I had a puff myself. I have cerebral palsy and, to my astonishment, I found this experimental puff instantly eased my muscle spasms. Now, my daughter's usage is ancient history, but, at 65, I still smoke as a most effective palliative.

Antonia Lister-Kaye,  
 38 Harrington Road,  
 Brighton BN1 6RF.

ANDREW Moncur mentioned the unintentional typographical errors which can cause such confusion when encountered by the reader (And another thing, September 29). I can only therefore assume it was intentional that, in Ed Douglas's article on Tibet (The rape of Tibet), we read: "The monastery of 360 monks where Palden grew up and cared for his dying uncle was raised to the ground in the same period."

Andrew Wilkes,  
 41 Petrusfield Way,  
 West Horndon, Brentwood,  
 Essex CM13 3TG.



## Let's figure this one out

BRYAN Chapman (Letters, September 29) questions the use of mental arithmetic in an age of electronic calculators. If for no other reason, proficiency in mental arithmetic is valuable to confirm that the result obtained with a calculator is reasonable.

For example, if I multiply 8.125 by 2.34 (to convert inches to centimetres), I expect an answer slightly greater than 20.

The modern calculator is indeed a boon, saving many hours of tedious manual calculation. However, it is easy to push the wrong button oc-

asionally. Sadly, many users uncritically accept the most ludicrous results obtained with a calculator, simply because they are unable to estimate (mentally) what the correct answer should be.

(Prof) Alan T Collins,  
 Department of Physics,  
 King's College, London,  
 Strand,  
 London WC2R 2LS.

Please include a full postal address on all letters. We may edit them; shorter letters are more likely to appear. We regret we cannot acknowledge those not used.

## The incurables

I HAVE worked internationally on paedophile cases and was horrified to read your Leader (September 29) suggesting that there should be "some form of halfway house to test a paedophile's readiness for release". Why can people not grasp that paedophilia is an incurable condition? I have never, in all these years, even seen an incurable pedophile or even agree that their "love" or "need" for a sexual relationship with a child or children is grossly abnormal.

In my book, the only rehabilitated paedophile is a dead paedophile. I know this is a totally unfashionable view but "to test a paedophile's readiness for release", as you put it, means that should the paedophile fail the test, another child will suffer not just sexual abuse but also a life that is blighted forever.

Convicted paedophiles should be offered permanent, humane incarceration. The alternative is further damage and destroyed children.

Erin Fitzey,  
 Twickenham,  
 Middlesex.

## A Country Diary

TAMAR VALLEY: Cotshale, Pentillie, Hardicott and Mount Edgcombe are some of the estates letting farms along the valley. On the Cornish side, it is customary for new tenancies to be taken up on September 29 but, across the river, farmers tend to move earlier in the year, on Lady Day. Twenty years ago, when rents in Cornwall and Devon averaged under £10 an acre, most local agricultural valuers carried out five to 10 Michaelmas valuations as farmers retired and new tenants took over vacated land. With the continuing trend of amalgamating holdings, and tenants' sons exercising their succession rights, fewer farms now come up for rent. As soon as possible after the quarter day, valuers for the incoming and outgoing tenants meet on the farm, accompanied by their clients and the landlord's agent. They value the quitting tenant's rights: improvements to fixtures and buildings; remaining severed crops (hay, straw and silage); temporary pastures and residual manurial

values. Fields, hedges, house and buildings are inspected for dilapidation, for evidence of neglect and lack of maintenance. In autumn's mellow sun, or drizzling rain, the experts examine every gate, ditch and fence, occasioning much argument and dramatic threats of arbitration for the benefit of their respective clients. Lunch, provided by the new occupier, is a more amiable affair with reminiscence of earlier days and of attempts to get the opposing valuer, less astute for the afternoon session. Since the Agricultural Tenancies Act of 1955, new lifetime tenancies are not granted, replaced by fixed terms, rents starting at around £50 per acre for a five-year lease, on bare land with no buildings or farmhouse. In comparison, in 1885, George Snell, uncle of my great, great grandmother, obtained a lease for 21 years from the Duchy of Cornwall for Park and Waddesley Farms at Laxapah. Total rent was £65 for house, buildings and 25 acres.

VIRGINIA SPIERS

## Diary

Matthew Norman

**W**HILE we await his "critical biography" of Kenyan dictator Daniel Arap Moi, it is good to see Andrew Morton, keeping himself busy, releasing all his Diana stuff and betraying her as the source for that book. As well respected as he is today — indeed, Andrew is widely regarded as the finest royal reporter in the Daily Star's history — it is a shock to learn how nearly his career was stillborn. As a Mirror Group trainee, he was seconded to the Daily Star, and his last job for this Mirror-owned rag was to write up a batch of wedding reports. Giving his gorgeously pukka sense of humour its head, Andrew included in one of the tender phrases: "The bride looked radiant in a Dutch royal trimmed with lace." When the bride and her mother complained, Andrew had to plead not to be fired, swear never to do it again, and — as punishment — accept another six months in the stock. Had the Mirror Group been stricter, he would never have gone to its Manchester office, never have written the Star, never have written his book... and, who can say for sure, Diana and Charles might not have divorced. On such minutiae does the course of history turn.

**O**UR sympathies to Peter Rowell on his suspension as a newsreader on RTV. Mr Rowell was getting ready to give the regional bulletin yesterday morning while GMTV's national news was showing pictures of Princess Diana in a low cut dress. Unaware that a sound link to his studio had been opened, Mr Rowell said to a workmate: "She had huge knockers." No doubt his employers will be lenient with the poor chap, who is said to be gravely upset. And besides, as an RTV spokesman said, "He made a comment which, because of the unfortunate juxtaposition, could well have been misinterpreted."

**A**S we have already learnt from Book of the Month, Ronnie Kray: Sorted, by Ronnie's widow Kate, the late gangster was not a bad guy (you were nothing to Ronnie Kray unless he called you a slag and a rat) and a true romantic (his one request to Kate was the 9mm Mauser semi-automatic — wrapped in a yellow duster — with which he shot George Bernard Shaw). Knowing this, you may find details of his funeral almost unbearably poignant. "I got out the cigarettes I'd brought with me," she recalls, "10 John Player Specials. Only 10 because, still in my heart, I wanted him to give up smoking, knowing it was bad for him. I unwrapped the cellophane," she continues, "and put them in the coffin close to the right hand, within easy reach. That's what he wanted."

**T**HE announcement that Hammersmith Palas is to close prompts the marvellous Lib Dem peer Conrad Russell to recollect a story told by his father, Bertrand. Outside the Palas once stood a sign reading: "The management reserves the right to refuse entry to any lady it thinks proper" — a classic lesson, Bertie would often observe, about the importance of care in using English. And still, knowing that they can dare to close the Palas?

**T**HE Bookeller, house magazine for the once genteel world of publishing, carries an advertisement for a book, "Mark," says the advert, for Select Music's talking tapes, "the Christmas cash tills ring..."

**I**T is with some excitement that I announce the publication of A History of The American People, the latest magnum opus from the same and rational Paul Johnson. While we await the signed copy from Paul himself, we turn to a review of the book by the BBC's Gavin Baser. Writing in that splendid and beautifully written magazine, the Literary Review, Mr Baser regrets the presence of some howlers in Paul's text, and he picks out the following classic: "When Kennedy said 'Ich bin ein Berliner', Johnson perversely translates this as 'I am a hamburger'."



# Time for Blair to share the limelight

## Commentary

### Jonathan Freedland

in Brighton

**T**ONY BENN is entertaining old chums in Brighton with a bit of vintage Bennite humour. The old man of the left can be seen bustling along the seafront, clutching a pile of leaflets and telling friends that Labour has replaced the one member, one vote system known as OMOV with a new one called OLAV — One Leader, All Votes.

Labour arseholes, who tend to go in for acronyms, chuckle at that. They know that, like all the best jokes, it contains a stab of truth. For one of the clearest impressions left all week in Brighton — and confirmed yesterday — is that the much-fabled New Labour Project is increasingly the tale of one man.

The Government's heaviest hitters have done their best, but they have somehow failed to stir the hall or leave much of an impression. On Monday Gordon Brown pressed every activist button. He resuscitated the once-discarded Labour ideal of full

employment, he even used the word socialist — a term conspicuously avoided by his more-fastidious boss. But still Gordon Brown could not rouse the troops. They denied him a standing ovation, keeping their bums firmly on their seats.

John Prescott gets laughs. Mo Mowlam gets warmth and respect. Robin Cook will be heard diligently on Thursday. Clare Short will get some rebel cheers on the same day. But none of them sparks fire. All the conference oxygen is sucked up by the Leader; there is hardly any left for anyone else.

"It's all about him, he's the only one who can excite them," mused one Labourist yesterday, a backroom veteran of Tony Blair's two campaigns, first for the party leadership then for Downing Street. "Without him, Labour is nothing."

Blair does little to discourage the sentiment. On the contrary, yesterday he did the reverse, ever-so-gently belittling the Cabinet which serves him. Only a select handful of them were on the platform, like the word "Labour" on the backdrop, now shrunk to a discreet size, the rest had receded from view. Still, they were the butt of one of the Prime Minister's earliest jokes. Instructing the delegates on the realities of high office, he reported that "They really do say, 'Yes,

Prime Minister'." Looking over his shoulder and waiting a beat, he clarified that he was talking about civil servants — "Not the Cabinet, obviously."

It was only a small allusion, but as he confessed yesterday, Mr Blair specialises in the "small, but important" gesture. His gag recalled the old Washington whisper about Ronald Reagan nodding off during meetings of his cabinet. Aides leaked that story

deliberately, not to suggest the President was losing it — but to show how little his underlings mattered to him. The Prime Minister is playing a similar, presidential game. He used the first person singular yesterday far more often than he invoked the Labour party. One departure from his prepared text was telling "That is why we are here," was the planned line. "That's why I'm in politics," was how it came out. "I want..." was a frequent formulation. He talked of a report on global warming which "I commissioned". In the peroration, the party had been left behind altogether.

Now it was all in May 1, the people of their country into a century... That offer you."

Few politicians will be grudge Tony Blair's age and the now-familiar, true and the post-First Lady wife. As if government as a party, to acquire the Mitterrand p... it with Clinton... the president... "Tonton" in the nation, a... party feud... Bill Clinton... Democrats... between them and... party lost... Tony Blair's yet trav-

elled to do that road. The no of British system... he never quite break... in his follow... ing... is elected... directly... owes job to the... he is in parliament... that... restraint... appears... in his own... the people.

So this all working... about polls... 33 point... a... yesterday is... come true, Tony Blair... to start sharing the spotlight. After all, like the man said, this is the Giving Age.

in democratic politics. Even without trying, he makes the others at Labour's top table look like dwarves.

But this poses risks for his beloved project. For where would it be without Tony Blair? This is the under-the-bus scenario that can never be discussed out loud. It probably sounds grandiose, but Mr Blair is to the New Labour mission what Yitzhak Rabin was to the Middle East peace process: it cannot happen without him. Israelis accepted Rabin's offer of compromise because they trusted him on security. Similarly, voters believe the PM's message of "compassion with a hard edge" because, as a Labour leader, he has credibility on the "caring" issues, while his ultra-conservatism on tax-and-spending has made him credibly "hard." No one else in Labour embodies quite the same blend.

A more obvious parallel is Margaret Thatcher. She, too, towered above her colleagues, always much more *primus inter pares*. She, too, enjoyed a charisma that cast all others in her shadow. But, when she finally fell, her greatest weakness was exposed: she had left no successor. Perhaps her error was to stay too long, so that the moment passed for Messrs Lawson, Howe, Hurd and Heseltine.

Tony Blair has fastened his grip much tighter than Mrs Thatcher had at the same stage. She had to deal with a sizeable cabal of wets in her cabinet and a majority of Heathites in the parliamentary party. Today's PM has just one or two wobblers in his cabinet and a healthy Blairite majority in his Commons contingent. He is fully in charge. Still, if the dream of an animated yesterday is to come true, Tony Blair needs to start sharing the spotlight. After all, like the man said, this is the Giving Age.

# Freedom comes with a high price-tag



George Monbiot

**T**HERE has been a curious omission from the Labour Party conference. Among the tens of thousands of words devoted to education, health, even, surprisingly, the environment, scarcely a breath has been spared for one of Labour's central legislative reforms: a freedom of information act.

The optimistic interpretation of this absence is that nothing more needs be said, as freedom of information is already on its way. In December, the Government will publish a White Paper. A few months later, it will draft a bill. Why debate a done deal? There seem to me to be several good reasons. None of the fundamental questions which the impending legislation raises has yet been answered. Aside from a few chilling remarks by Jack Straw and Peter Mandelson about "necessary restrictions", we have no idea what the scope of the White Paper will be. We don't yet know whether or not local authorities and the remaining nationalised industries (such as British Nuclear Fuels) will be covered by the act. Will ministers still be allowed to sign public interest immunity certificates? Will the legislation be enforced by the courts or by select committee? Perhaps most disturbingly, no one in government is talking about what, precisely, "freedom" means. As campaigners are beginning to discover, availability of information does not necessarily equate to accessibility. For the most extraordinary charges are now being levied for information to which we are legally entitled. They amount to what the consultant Paul Mobbs has dubbed an "information tax": a significant, often crippling, incentive to collect what belongs to us already.

Local authorities explain the money they demand for information as "photocopy charges". Some of them clearly need to change their office suppliers. Carmarthen-shire County Council now charges local people up to 22 a sheet for planning application copies.

Hertsmere District Council informs objectors that it will cost them 57 a sheet to copy pages documenting the deals it has struck with developers. Sandwell Borough Council in Birmingham has asked campaigners for 250 to copy 29 pages listing the polluting activities it claims to have banned. As the Campaign for Freedom of Information has

shown, government departments tend to employ more inventive means of pricing inconvenient information out of the market. Last year, for example, the Ministry for Amalgamating Fact and Fiction announced that 26 rendering or incineration plants were breaking the laws introduced to eliminate BSE. The campaigner Alan Watson wrote to MAFF, asking which plants these were. After three months, MAFF replied that listing the 26 names and addresses would incur an "administration charge" of £1,393, while a legal opinion about whether or not it could release this information would cost a further £5195. Watson pointed out that this was more than the offending companies had been fined.

The most audacious shyster of all is the agency which holds the information in which there is the most pressing public interest: the Health and Safety Executive. In 1994, it told Hazards Magazine that compiling a list of its actions against premises breaking the Health and Safety Work Act would cost £266,000. Even more astonishing than the price was the implication that the HSE did not already possess this information.

Indeed, in some cases this "information tax" would be better dubbed an "incompetence tax": people's requests often expose the utter disorganisation of government departments. When Transport 2000 wanted to know how the government's local transport budget had been spent, the Department of Transport charged it £800 for the information it needed. It later asked to see the pressure group's analysis, as if it hadn't done one of its own.

**W**E would be naive to assume that a freedom of information act will necessarily address these impositions. Neither the Open Government Code of Practice nor the Local Government (Access to Information) Act have prevented those who regard an educated population as a dangerous one from charging us for the exercise of our rights. Other proposed rights legislation suggests that, if anything, we should expect an increase in the price of access. A fortnight ago, Michael Heseltine, the environment minister, said landowners would be able to exact payment from people enjoying the forthcoming right to roam in the countryside. The best things in life will be charged at the going rate. If, as we are told, the inequality of the future will develop around the gulf between the information rich and the information poor, then there can be little doubt — unless this oppressive tax is scrapped — that those already living on the wrong side of the tracks will stay there. Access to information will begin to look rather like access to the law.

As Washington threatens the French oil firm Total with sanctions for supping with Iran, Ian Black predicts that calm diplomacy will avert full-scale trade war

# War dance in the Gulf

**T**en years ago, in the majlis in Tehran, President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani crowded with gleeful contempt as he produced the bible sent him by Ronald Reagan, c/o Colonel Oliver North, as a goodwill token designed to secure the release of American hostages held by Iranian-backed Shi'ite Muslim militants in Lebanon. The United States has had serious difficulties dealing with Iran since Ayatollah Khomeini toppled the Shah in 1979. Now Bill Clinton is firing the opening salvoes in what could be a new transatlantic trade war, though it is only the latest noisy instalment in the old and long-running story of America's obsession with truculent men in turbans.

Official Washington insists its threat to impose sanctions against the French oil giant, Total, is perfectly justified. Massive foreign investment in Iran's oil and gas industry, it argues, helps the country acquire weapons of mass destruction. Evidence gathered by intelligence agencies (including Britain's MI6) that it has an active nuclear programme cannot be dismissed as lightly as suspicions about Saddam Hussein's atomic ambitions before the Gulf war. And although Iran's strident ideological support and practical assistance to terrorists are not the cause of the crisis in the Middle East peace process, its role is destructive. Worse, in a way, is its habit of torturing or killing its own dissidents, abroad as well as at home. In April a Berlin court tried the infamous "Mykonos" case provided a "smoking gun" that linked the assassination of Iranian Kurdish activists directly to Tehran. Iran is prime suspect in US hegemony and challenges its allies in the Gulf and beyond. It is also canny enough to play off Europe against America.



Some nevertheless believe change is in the air. Mohammed Khatami, elected president in May, is a relative liberal on domestic matters, though there are few signs that he will adopt any new policies on regional or security issues. Ironically, before the Total contract, events were conspiring to ensure that the US and EU were closing ranks on handling Iran. The Mykonos verdict brought a suspension of the EU's "critical dialogue" — long viewed by Washington as a fig leaf

for business as it also forced Germany to examine its lucrative relationship with Tehran. All EU countries to which their ambassadors "ate attempts to nego a deal, none has yet red. Britain's failure to progress over the Salei Rusdie fiasco and the use of a significant American intelligence relationship in place it even closer.

Washington's Whitehall saw the US's err on the side of demon-

ising Britain fully shares European disapproval of legislation threatening any company investing over \$50 million in Iran (and Libya) energy sectors. Its author, the Republican Senator Alfonse D'Amato, pushed a carbon copy of the controversial Helms-Burton law, forcing a reluctant Democratic administration to punish non-American companies operating in the US or actions in a third country a sin against the orthodoxy of globalisation.

So far the US plans merely to "inquire" Total's contract. If the EU and the US fail to reach agreement on Iran by October 15, Brussels is to submit a formal complaint to the World Trade Organisation. But there is room for flexibility. In the event, the EU is ready hinting yesterday at a moveable deadline. One likely solution would be for President Clinton to waive his right to pursue Total, extract a cosmetically tougher EU line and deny Tehran a significant tactical victory. If cool heads reign on both sides of the Atlantic, it should be possible to avoid the commercial equivalent of a shooting war — and keep the real badies firmly in their boxes.

Part of the problem is America's status as the world's only superpower at a time when the world has advanced in pursuing its trading interests — and generally cynical enough about human rights — is incapable of agreeing a common foreign policy. Washington's pursuit of "dual containment" — of Iraq and Iran — is the cause of this resentment in the Middle East and beyond. And sanctions, a blunt instrument that harms ordinary people far more than their rulers, are going out of fashion. Only last week the US and Britain were ambushed at the United Nations when Russia joined Arab and African states in attacking sanctions imposed on Libya because of the Lockerbie affair.

Far more severe measures in force against Iraq since the invasion of Kuwait now enjoy little active support beyond Washington and London as others, particularly the French, wait for them to wither and die. Total is one of over 50 companies poised to sign oil deals with Iraq when the embargo goes. Saddam Hussein, sitting on the world's second largest oil reserves after Saudi Arabia, is a patient man.

So far the US plans merely to "inquire" Total's contract. If the EU and the US fail to reach agreement on Iran by October 15, Brussels is to submit a formal complaint to the World Trade Organisation. But there is room for flexibility. In the event, the EU is ready hinting yesterday at a moveable deadline. One likely solution would be for President Clinton to waive his right to pursue Total, extract a cosmetically tougher EU line and deny Tehran a significant tactical victory. If cool heads reign on both sides of the Atlantic, it should be possible to avoid the commercial equivalent of a shooting war — and keep the real badies firmly in their boxes.

# Labour's sharp left turn

Ken Livingstone delights in his NEC election win

**T**HE significance of Monday's Labour National Executive Committee vote goes far beyond the individual votes for myself and Peter Mandelson. Detailed analysis also refutes the spin given in press briefings by senior party officials. Having spent the entire summer using the party machine to promote Mandelson's candidacy, they turned around on Monday night and claimed that the result reflected more upon Peter personally than the politics of the Labour membership.

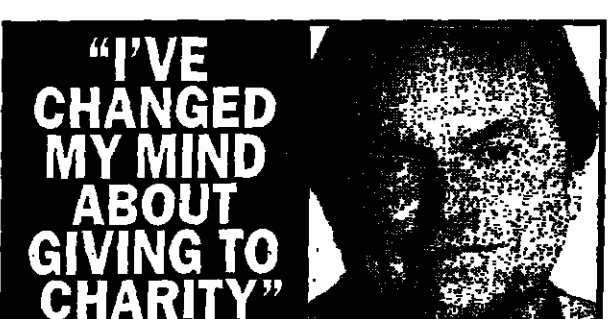
The facts, however, show not simply a vote against Mandelson, but a surge in support for the left. Overall, there was the biggest increase in their vote since the 1990s. The share of the vote for the seven candidates backed by the Social-

ist Campaign Group and Campaign for Labour Party Democracy had been static at 31 per cent of the total for the previous three years. This year it leapt to 39 per cent. Among party members the right and left are now neck and neck. As a result of some had Government decisions on issues like tuition fees and the attempts to make debates illegitimate or dissent disloyal, a significant part of the middle ground within the party has moved to defend the its traditions before we are "modernised" into something more like Clinton's Democrats. It confirms the emergence of a broader, modernising New Left.

The headlines picked up the 43 per cent increase in my vote. But the vote of every left candidate also

left by the individual members of the party on a scale only previously seen in 1985 and 1980 after Labour governments had gone down to defeat as a result of alienating their natural supporters with public spending cuts and pay freezes.

But on this occasion the risk and file have put a shot across the leadership's bows just months into a Government with the largest Labour majority in history. Furthermore, the NEC is elected by individual postal ballot, so this was not the verdict of the much-maligned activists who in fact do the work which wins elections, but of individual members. That is also why it is so absurd — as well as personally distasteful — to try, as leading party officials did, to put Monday's result down to Peter Mandelson's supposed individual failings. It is a sad irony that the on-the-record media briefings pioneered by Peter against the left should now be used to belittle his own standing



## "I'VE CHANGED MY MIND ABOUT GIVING TO CHARITY"

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Clive Anderson

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# Pop with snap and crackle

aged 70. Deeply loved wife and greatly talented; child piano prodigalogue director, sculptress, camper, peace and social justice. 11am Saturday, October 4, Golder Memorial. Memorial reception 5 Elsworth Road. Flowers family tributions Betty Varhaas Memorial Elsworth Road NW3 3BT.

PHOTOGRAPH: MARCO VALDIVIA

October 3rd at 3pm. Family members  
invited to attend. All enquiries to  
"Universal Services", 24 Market Street,  
Warragul. Tel 0181 832 2205.

to go are lovely, dark and deep,  
to keep the world to keep  
to go before I sleep,  
to go before I sleep

### Funeral Services

Mr. & Mrs. Ruth There will be a celebra-  
tion and work of Ruth on Monday  
at 6.30pm at the Wesleyan Church,  
London WC1. All friends, col-  
leagues and relatives welcome.

and the Department of Social Services  
to the life and work of Andy Ludlow  
will be held at the Department of  
Green, London E22 on 15th  
1997 at 3.00 pm. Enquiries to 0181-

### Deaths

Kirsty White and Richard Guard  
used to announce the birth of their  
son Moses Northfield Guard, on

Mr. & Mrs. James Tait, a son to Rue  
and (now deceased), on 28/8/97.  
at 11.30am at Warragul. Family  
Berry Brook, NSW 2205, Australia.

AND ANNETTE HOLMAN ARE  
PARTNERS. They were married  
on 1 September 1975 to Ruth Malinen  
on Finland.

Mr. & Mrs. K. H. G. on Monday 29 September,  
Warragul and Westminster, Hants.  
a daughter, Hannah Rose.

### Announcements

J. MILL and Mrs P.J. WALKER,  
resided between 1950 and 1960  
elder son of Mr and Mrs  
Hill of Murrely, Hampshire and  
youngest son of Mr and Mrs  
of Montcalm, Italy and Mrs Hazel  
of Chichester  
common.

your own announcement telephone  
0187 4587 or Tel 0181 713 4729 between  
3pm Mon-Fri.

popularity has grown point that it is now the number one mood-altering drug. The stimulant is never ingredient in the most popular beverage on earth: tea, coffee, soft drinks... But carbonated in one of its most common forms has not altered so well regarded, coffee was introduced to the middle of the century from what was Arabia, it was regarded with a certain exotic curiosity at best a repulsive excuse for a cigarette at worst. In the many people couldn't resist consuming a hot, bitter drink. It reminded of hot pitch, which was as a medieval weapon of torture. It *smokes up and smells the*

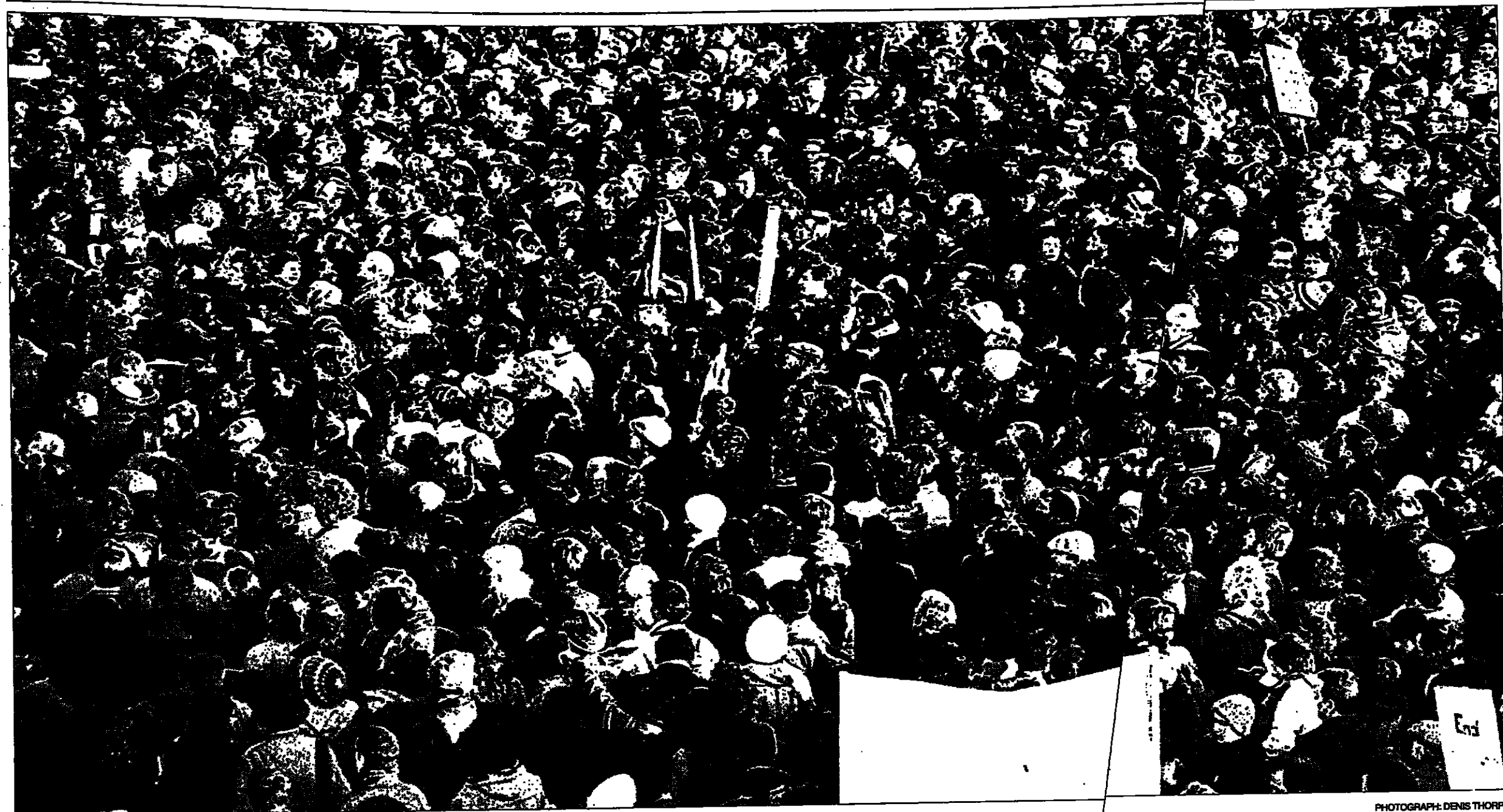
### Hannah Pool

صبرنا من الاله

# Analysis The jobs crisis



**Livingstone:  
How I beat  
Mandelson**  
9



PHOTOGRAPH: DENIS HOPPE

## Europe isn't working

But the commission thinks it has the answer. Can its bold new strategy create jobs? Not by itself, say **Martin Walker** and **Larry Elliott**

**A**T 3pm today, the European Commission chairman Jacques Santer and Pádraig Flynn, Commissioner for Employment and Social Affairs, will formally unveil before the European Parliament their new strategy to get Europe back to work. We will be hearing a lot more about the Employment Agenda for the Year 2000 in the lead-up to the special EU jobs summit in November, for which the strategy has been prepared.

The drafts of the commissioners' speeches read like golden odes to the Labour Party conferences past. There are ringing declarations of firm targets, to create 12 million jobs in five years for Europe's 18 million jobless, and to cut in half both long-term unemployment and youth unemployment.

There is the customary emphasis on re-skilling, with a new EU goal to have 25 per cent of the unemployed offered training up from the bare 10 per cent who get it now. There is the traditional suggestion of public funds to work their alchemy to produce private jobs. In this case by means of the European Investment Bank subsidising small and medium-sized enterprises, and of Europe creating a new NASDAQ-style venture-capital market of its own.

And there is guff, orotund and sententious silliness, which last week had the sides of another Euro-commissioner reading the stuff aloud in mock-Irish accent to parody Pádraig Flynn's sonorous style. The bit that provoked the most hilarity read like this: "An average of 30 per cent of the unemployed find work within a year. This proportion tends to rise slightly in periods of strong growth,

which suggests that strong job creation affects people's chances of finding employment, and therefore of reducing unemployment." (1) But the brutal reality of Europe's faltering social model has made the jobs crisis no laughing matter.

**C**AN governments in fact create jobs? It is an idea that has been deeply unfashionable for the past 20 years. Jim Callaghan, lauded by Tony Blair in Brighton yesterday, used his leader's speech in Blackpool 21 years ago to bury the idea that a Labour government could spend its way out of recession. It would, he said, lead only to higher inflation and, ultimately, higher unemployment.

With that speech, the Keynesian era came to an end. A new era dawned in which control of the money supply, low taxation, curbs on public spending and a belief in market forces would unleash the forces of free enterprise and create "real jobs". Blair, even yesterday, placed the emphasis on flexibility in the workplace rather than any direct effort to create jobs. When Gordon Brown talked of full employment on Monday, he had in mind the creation of job opportunities for all in the next century, rather than a precise target.

But in truth, governments can create jobs: they do so all the time. In Britain, there are around five million jobs — 20 per cent of the total — in the public sector. These jobs — in hospitals, schools, town halls, the armed forces — are paid for by the taxpayer. If the Government cut off the supply of money, there would no longer be a police force or an inland revenue. If it spent more, health-authority trusts could afford to hire more nurses, local councils could hire more

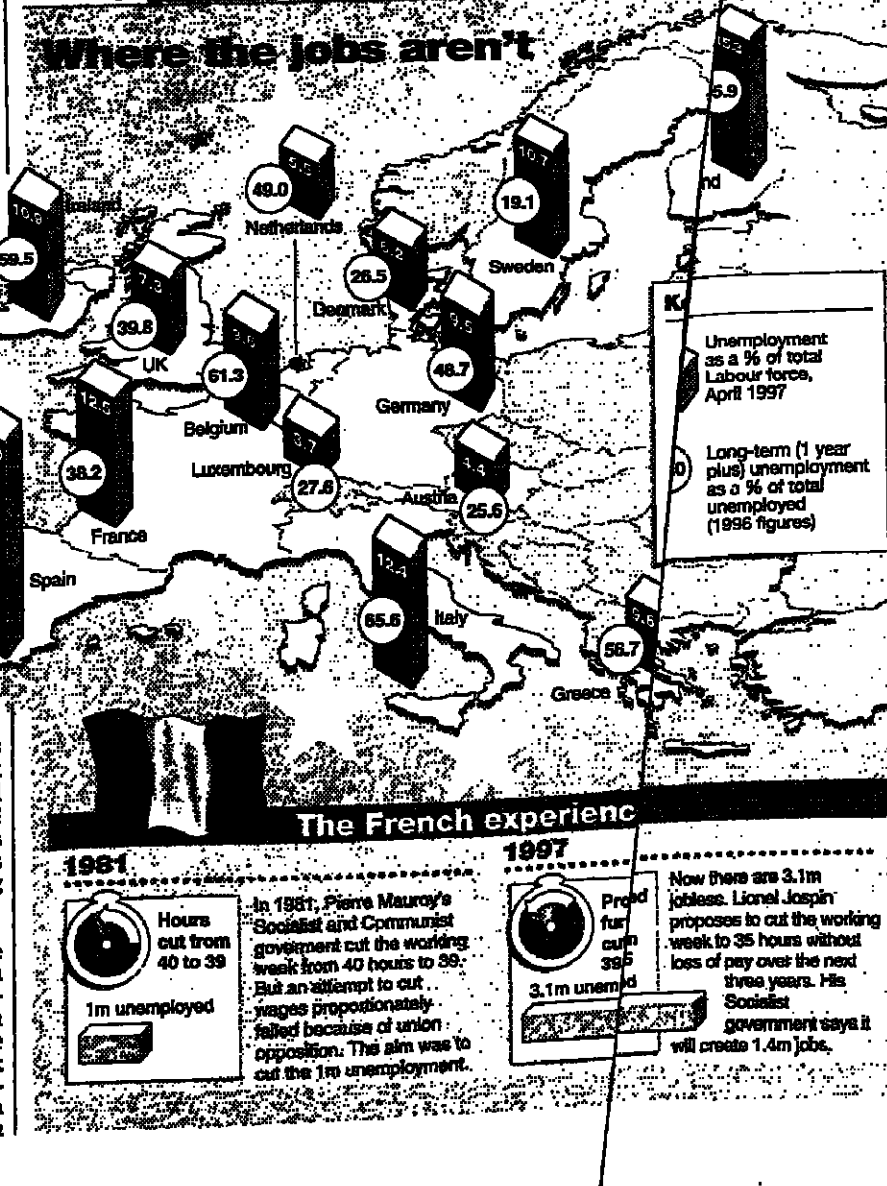
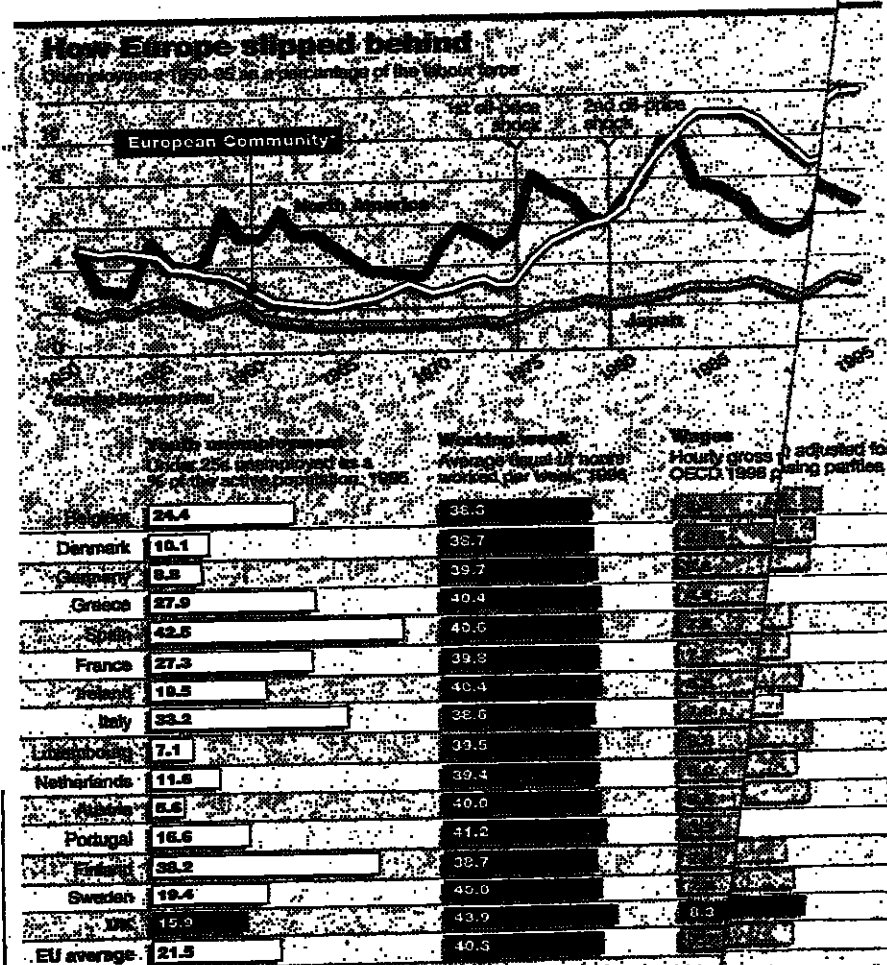
care assistants. The problem with tax and spend is not so much economic as political: someone has to pay.

However, there is one other way in which governments can create jobs — by running more expansionary economic policies. The halving of Britain's unemployment in the past five years is the result of economic policies that have been more conducive to growth. Unless Europe follows the same route, any job-creation programme dreamt up in Brussels will run into the sand.

Europe's desperately poor record on job creation over the past 15 years has been widely blamed on its over-tight labour market and the high costs to employers of funding its generous welfare states. But Europe had exactly the same labour-market structure when it had fuller employment in the 1950s and 1960s.

The difference is that Europe's economy was growing strongly in the first two decades after the second world war, but has expanded at a snail's pace in the 1980s and 1990s as governments have focused on conquering inflation at all costs.

**Y**ET GROWTH is not the focus of the European commissioners' job-creation strategy as set out in an Employment Agenda for the Year 2000. Certainly they talk of growth, but the commission paper is shot through with what Blair and Brown



would see as old Labour thinking, reeking of central planning and market regulation. The philosophical gap between Blair's Britain and the Europeans yawns almost as wide as the relative unemployment figures.

The host of the jobs summit, the prime minister of Luxembourg (and current European Council president), Jean-Claude Juncker, went to see the European Trade Union Confederation last month to tell them that he would not allow the employment summit to become a deregulation summit. Mr Juncker insisted: "Europe has not lost its ability to compete and the European social model, although in need of reform, is not under threat."

In true corporatist style, he suggested a new round of regular meetings between "the social partners" — the trade unions and the employers — and the troika, the past, present and current presidents of the European Council. The kind of topic they might discuss would be two recent developments in German industry which suggest that anyone who claims the European social model is not under threat is living on a different planet.

This week, the big German union, IG Metall, reached a regional agreement with the employers for workers over the age of 60 to work half-time for 82 per cent of basic pay, with workers over the age of 55 also being able to work half-time for a yet-to-be-negotiated fraction of pay. The goal was to free working places for the unemployed young. But this treats jobs as a limited and rationed social treasure to be shared out. And despite hopeful statistics about German growth resuming, the country's construction industry yesterday reported that orders were down 13 per cent on the year in what was East Germany and 6.6 per cent down in the West.

The European social model is in even more trouble in France, where the prime minister, Lionel Jospin, is backing away from his pledge to create more jobs by cutting the working week from 39 to 35 hours without loss of pay.

**T**HERE is no gainsaying the contrast with the American boom which has inflation and unemployment both down below 5 per cent while growth hums along at more than 4 per cent. Britain is not quite in that league, nor are the other "Anglo-Saxons" of Canada, Australia and New Zealand. But all of them have unemployment just above half the desperate level in France.

At one level this simply reflects the ways in which the Anglo-Saxons went through their great industrial perestroika five or 10 years before the continental Europeans, and now reap the rewards. By contrast, the Europeans are suffering self-inflicted Thatcherism because of the budget-ashing required to meet the Maastricht targets for monetary union. Yet on another level, there really are two different kinds of economic models at work — and the difference is job creation. The US has created over 11 million new jobs since Bill Clinton took office in 1993, more than the rest of the G7 countries combined (40). And in Britain, despite some Tory fiddling with the unemployment statistics, the last five years since we were pitched out of the European Monetary System have brought more than 1.7 million new jobs. This may not be up to the US standard, but it impresses the Europeans.

But many of these jobs are part-time (though a Eurostat report earlier this month found that most British part-timers like it that way (2)). And many more are low-wage entry jobs, with limited prospects. Yet in the numbers of new companies starting, and in last year's after-tax return on equity for British manufacturers at a solid 3.3 per cent (compared to 5.8 per cent in 1979), jobs are being created in Britain because the real economy is booming. Above all, British labour unit costs are one-third less than those in Germany while labour productivity is only 10 per cent behind and catching up.

The non-wage labour costs are the European social model — the various national insurance and welfare payments that make it so forbidding for French and German employers to hire new staff. But those are the very provisions that are not being addressed by the German "social partners", just as the Bundestag managed last week to sink Chancellor Helmut Kohl's hopes of tax cuts on the Reagan-Thatcher model.

The best that can be said for the EC's job strategy is that at least it starts the real debate about the future of Europe's social model. But for Europe's 18 million unemployed — one worker in eight — the Brussels measures could prove too little and too late, and too concerned to put the troublesomely prospering Anglo-Saxons in their place.

(1) Executive Summary, An Employment Agenda for the Year 2000 (European Commission, published today); (2) ETUC report 23/97; (3) IMF World Economic Outlook, Sept 1997; (4) US Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1997; (5) Eurostat release No 6597, 18/9/97. Martin Walker is the Guardian's European editor, Larry Elliott the economics editor. Research: Isobel Montgomery; Guardian R&I Unit. Graphics: Paddy Allen, Natalie Crocker.

Graphics sources: Unemployment since 1960 — OECD Jobs Study, 1994 (1993-5 figures are projections); EU unemployment rates — OECD News Release (September 1997); hourly wages — Sedgwick Noble Lowndes, August 1997; long-term unemployed & working week — Eurostat Statistics in Focus 9/97; youth unemployment — Eurostat, French plan — Paul Webster in Paris

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# FinanceGuardian

Loopholes in the banking system allowed a swindle that was 'simplicity itself'

At the end of the joint fraud investigation officers wait for transport after making an arrest in Tottenham, north London.  
PHOTOGRAPH: PAUL REED



## £2m bouncing PEP fraud

Dan Atkinson

**M**AJOR financial institutions may have been swindled out of more than £2 million by a bouncing cheque fraud described by police as "simplicity itself".

Some of the grandest names in assurance and fund-management allowed criminals to swap dud cheques for good ones, using loopholes in the banking system and consumer-protection regulations.

Seven people were arrested yesterday as officers from four police forces raided 13 addresses in greater London. Detectives can prove that £250,000 has been taken from savings institutions but believe the fraud may have totalled 10 times that amount. Nearly every company offering Personal Equity Plans, the tax-free savings vehicles, has suffered the fraud to a greater or lesser extent.

Detective Inspector Bob W. Smith said: "Hopefully, our actions today, together with follow-up measures, will stop this particular fraud being perpetrated again."

A City police spokeswoman said: "The potential was for far greater sums to be lost. Institutions have tightened up their procedures as the fraud has come to light."

Nevertheless, the swindle has raised questions about internal controls at insurers and fund managers. It seems the fraudsters spread their activities around the industry

to avoid arousing suspicion. The fraudsters would fill in PEP applications in false names, enclosing "dud" cheques to open the account. Shortly afterwards, taking advantage of the 14-day cooling off period, they would cash the PEP account and request immediate repayment.

A company cheque would be posted to them before the institution realised the original cheque would not clear.

Meanwhile, the fraudsters would have cashed the company cheque, at a discount, at a cheque encashment bureau. These have sprung up in recent years as inner-city bank branches have closed and poorer people have had difficulties cashing cheques

because of the spread of "account payee only" cheques, which cannot be counter-signed by the recipient.

The bureaux — which have their own association and are recognised as providing a valid service — are able to cash payee-only cheques because they will have signed indemnity agreements with their own bankers, under which the bureaux themselves will make good any losses suffered should the cheques turn out to have been fraudulently passed.

For this reason, most bureaux make identity checks on customers, although these were clearly evaded in this case. Some of the loss is likely to fall on the bureaux if banks decide to activate the indemnities.



the built-in delay in clearing a cheque and second, the efficiency with which institutions, clearly mindful of in-

vestor-protection rules, despatched repayment cheques to clients.

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## Price war looms as Shell cuts 3,000 retail jobs

Roger Cowe

**A** NEW petrol price war was signalled by Shell yesterday as the oil group announced 3,000 managerial redundancies in its European retail operations.

The shake-up, which is aimed at ending losses in the group's "downstream" business, will see Shell buying other service station chains and swapping assets with rivals across Europe.

It could result in only two oil companies operating petrol stations in the UK by the end of the decade.

"We want to be number one or number two in every market where we compete, and number one in profitability," said Phil Turberville, European director of Shell's Oil Products business.

The company currently has 15 per cent of the UK market. That proportion will grow to 17 per cent when the recently announced acquisition of Gulf stations is completed. But the target is 20 per cent and further increases in market share will come from other acquisitions, possibly involving swaps of assets elsewhere in Europe.

Discussions have been held with other oil majors for several months and a deal is likely to be struck before the end of the year.

Mr Turberville said the company would be more competitive on price than it has in the past, although stressing that it was also experimenting with non-price developments such as a return to serviced petrol pumps.

The new policy will prompt cuts by competitors as market leader Esso and the super-markets respond to Shell's price moves.

Shell will have to slash costs in order to make profits at lower prices. It aims to be the lowest cost competitor, which means that unit costs of the UK retail operation will have to fall by nearly half.

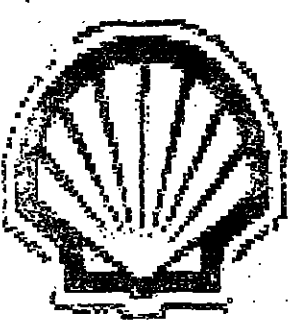
Some of that reduction will come from the management restructuring which will simplify the European organisation and has been estimated to save up to £200 million. Among the redundancies will be 28 general managers in the oil marketing and retail business, as up to 10 management layers are reduced to three.

"We are moving away from a bureaucratic and hierarchical organisation," Mr Turberville said.

He refused to say how many of the job cuts would be in the UK but it could be as much as one in five of the oil products division. UK costs are currently well above Shell's European average.

Unit costs will also be reduced by boosting the volume of sales at the company's service station network. As well as expanding from the existing 1,700 petrol stations, Shell will attempt to boost sales by pushing more products through its Select shops and converting less productive sites to alternative uses.

It may import the Escapade restaurant format that has proved successful in France, and is examining the possibility of adding services such as local delivery of groceries and other products.



**'We want to be number one or number two in every market where we compete, and number one in profitability'**  
Phil Turberville  
Shell director

## Spens 'dive-bombs' DTI for one-sided Guinness report

Dan Atkinson

**C**ONVERSY is moving over the so-called published Guinness report, one of whose authors, ex-merchant banker Spens, is accusing the inspectors of being "one-sided".

The President of the Board of Trade, Maet Beckett, said on Monday he had decided in principle to make public the results of the 11-year investigation. Her staff aim to publish the end of November but has to consider objections not published from the named in the report.

Lord Spens, who was cleared of Guinness-related charges and is suing the Bank of England for losing his job, has accused Department of Trade and Industry civil servants of a series of press leaks during the summer.

The once legendary City deal-maker, now an independent member of the House of Lords, was, with others involved in the affair, shown the inspectors' findings of fact in an interim report two years ago. He believes the inspectors have failed in their duty in four areas.

First, he alleges they did not examine possible "dive-bombing" of Guinness shares in 1986 by its rival, Argyle, in the bitter £2.8 billion bid battle for the Distillers drinks

company. He claims Argyle indemnified sellers of Guinness shares against loss, just as Guinness was said to have indemnified buyers.

Second, Lord Spens says one particularly blatant case of such indemnity was not investigated. Third, he says investigators failed to find out the definition of a "false market" in shares from the Takeover Panel, the City's referee.

Fourth, he identifies the "failure to interview any market maker to establish whether the market felt misled or false" during the bid.

Lord Spens concludes in his letter to Mrs Beckett: "In my opinion and in the opinion of many others the one-sided nature of the inspectors' investigation totally discredited the interim report."

"I would hope that, in the interests of justice, the final report covers all these areas and more. Please will you ensure that publication is accelerated so that we can all examine its quality."

The use made of testimony extracted by the inspectors under compulsion from the former chairman of Guinness, Ernest Saunders, and others, was condemned last year by the European Council of Human Rights. Mr Saunders' co-defendants, tycoon Gerald Ronson, stockbroker Anthony Parnes and financier Jack Lyons, have similar cases pending.

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## Fine or Friends is PIA's biggest

Sarah Ryle

**T**HE Personal Invention Authority yesterday imposed its biggest fine to date over pensions selling by demanding that Friends Provident pay £450,000 for making "slow progress" in its review.

But the company had that it would meet the regulator's targets and said its holders would not suffer a result of the fine because funds under management were so large at £20 billion.

Amid indications that insurance industry is being more defiant about regulatory penalties, Friends Provident director and company secretary Brian Swland said progress was being slowed by customers' failure to return forms giving details which were essential to its review.

The PIA will merge with other regulators to form the Financial Services Authority (FSA) at the end of the year. Senior executives in the industry believe that the

organisation is keen to show it has teeth.

One, who would not be named, said yesterday: "There is a belief that we have a number of regulators fighting for a place in heaven under NewRo and all have their objectives."

Describing the fine as "disappointing", Friends Provident said it should be judged on the final outcome of its pensions review, involving 6,426 cases, rather than progress at an interim date that it did not know about.

"Friends Provident is well aware of the pressure under which the PIA is conducting the pensions review and the importance of restoring consumer confidence to the industry as a whole," the statement said.

Treasury minister Helen Liddell has stepped up the pressure with her policy of "naming and shaming" the companies.

The latest fine is the 43rd year. Senior executives in the industry believe that the

## Out with 'old', in with euphemistic

David Brindle on a cultural shift which rewrites employers' bias

**T**HE good news for the more mature job-seeker is that blatant age discrimination is on the way out. The bad news? Euphemistic discrimination is on the way in.

A survey today of more than 8,000 job advertisements in newspapers shows that only 6 per cent stipulated an age limit.

Two years ago, a similar survey found that twice as many employers were telling older would-be applicants not to bother. In the 1990s, as many as 30 to 40 per cent of adverts carried age exclusions.

The positive trend is tempered however, by the finding that advertisers are using coded language to deter the middle-aged.

Giveaway phrases include: "Don't read this unless you want to join a young team"; "A young, motivated culture with an enviable can-do spirit"; and "This is probably your second job."

The survey was carried out by advertising agency Barkers Human Resources for the Carnegie Third Age Programme, which campaigns for job opportunities for older people. Forty per cent of Britain's workforce will be over 45 by the end of the decade.

Nick Holker, Barkers' research and planning director, said the phrases creeping into use sent out "a fairly clear message", which was discriminatory and short-sighted.

Richard Worsley, director of the Carnegie programme, said any plans for legislation on age discrimination would have to consider not only blatantly ageist advertising, but also the "more subtle" techniques now used.

### Notebook

## Swedes give the game away



Edited by Alex Brummer

**A**MID the twists and turns of the debate about Britain joining the European Monetary Union at an early date, the most illuminating comment yesterday came not from Tony Blair in Brighton, but from the Nordic fringes of the European Union. Speaking in Stockholm the Swedish finance minister, Erik Asbrink, revealed that the UK and Sweden "are very close to each other" in the EMU debate and it was his belief that Gordon Brown would publicly show his hand in December or January.

Why one might ask should the Swedes hold any insights? It is often forgotten that it is not just the core EMU countries, Germany and France, which participate in discussions at all levels on EMU, but all EU members. Thus the views of the lesser members may receive less media or market attention but can be as well informed as anyone else. In the case of Sweden and Denmark, the positions are adjacent to those of the UK. All three countries are ardent free-traders, all have large minorities which are sceptical about the effects of EMU on their sovereignty and all three are intent on reserving their position as long as is practically possible.

But the clock is now running extraordinarily fast. The determination of which countries will go forward will be made by the end of this year and there is a growing consensus, supported by the IMF in its World Economic Outlook report, that as many as 11 nations will move forward and fix exchange rates in April/May of next year. The sheer weight of numbers in effect means that the euro will be dominant rather than a minority currency and as Helen Liddell, the Economic Secretary, pointed out in Brighton — the UK's financial community will need to be ready to meet the challenge.

If the Stockholm version of events turns out to be correct then the UK, followed by Sweden and Denmark, could form the second EMU wave joining in 2001 or thereafter.

### Football fever

**T**HE disclosure of Manchester United's new TV channel is extremely worrying for the Premier League, whose potential break-up suddenly looks an increasing possibility.

Consider the evidence. United would dearly love to be able to negotiate its own TV contracts, but at present is tied to the Premier League's deal with BSkyB. At the same time, BSkyB and

Granada admit they are talking to a number of Premier League clubs about launching similar channels in the digital age, opening the possibility of such clubs getting together to launch their own mini-league.

It is already acknowledged that the Premier League contains a "league within a league" of top clubs, many of them floated, which pull in the top crowds.

Consider too BSkyB's position, which has been undermined by recent analysis suggesting it owes much of its commercial success to its deal with the Premier League, rather than the other way round.

How tempting it must be, then, for the likes of United, Arsenal and Liverpool to strike a deal of their own with pay-TV specialists like BSkyB or Flextech, setting up a lucrative new super league, freezing out smaller clubs. Chelsea's Ken Bates is rather more sceptical about such a development, pointing out that you need two teams to play a match and suggesting that it would be hard to negotiate fees for away sides featured in TV broadcasts.

However, this problem could be overcome if the top clubs agreed to play each other in a breakaway league, but with TV deals negotiated independently so the home side keeps all TV revenue — just as home sides keep all their gate receipts at present.

Such a deal ought to be in keeping with the ethos of competition the OFT wants to engender.

### Flying kites

**S**OME time after the first good cheque was written someone wrote the first "rubber kite". And shortly after that, less than honest individual twiggled that the easiest fraud in the world would be to persuade someone to exchange the former for the latter.

Four centuries or so down the road, nobody seems to have shared this information with the financial giants that manage the nation's savings. Yesterday it emerged they have lost what may total £2 million or more at the hands of swindlers. How was it done? The swindle was, said the City of London Police, "simplicity itself".

Yes, quite. The fraudsters wrote dud cheques to open personal equity plan accounts, waited a day or so, then exercised their right to cancel the plan. Back from the super-efficient insurers and savings companies came a crisp corporate cheque for the original amount, a cheque promptly exchanged for cash. Later, the hapless insurer would discover the "customer" cheque exhibited a peculiar rubbery quality.

To be fair, the fraudsters spread their "business" around to avoid detection. But our great financial institutions have collectively paid a lot of money for a refresher course in elementary banking. Lesson one? Cheques take three (that's three) days to clear.

## Pearson set to buy US TV firm

Roger Cowe

**M**EDIA group Pearson is expected to buy the US television production company that makes Baywatch and The Price Is Right today for \$400 million (£250 million).

The company, All American Communications, is controlled by chairman Anthony Scotti, who is expected to agree to Pearson's offer at a board meeting this afternoon.

A TV industry source said yesterday: "An announcement will be made tomorrow that Pearson has purchased All American lock, stock and barrel."

Neither All American nor Pearson was available for comment last night.

The US company is based in California and produces or distributes about 100 programmes, specialising in game shows and soap operas such as Baywatch.

Although Pearson dismissed rumours a few weeks ago that it was in talks with All American, the group has made it clear that it wants to expand its TV interests, which are currently led by LWT's former boss, Greg Dyke.

It already owns the former Thames TV library and production companies such as Grundy, the Australian firm that makes Neighbours. The group's new chief executive, Marjorie Scardino, said last month that she wanted to capitalise on the growing market for TV content.

### TOURIST RATES — BANK SELLS

|                 |                 |                    |                   |
|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| Australia 2.178 | France 9.285    | Italy 2.735        | Singapore 2.82    |
| Austria 18.50   | Germany 2.77    | Mexico 0.614       | South Africa 7.31 |
| Belgium 57.17   | Greece 440.00   | Netherlands 3.11   | Spain 232.40      |
| Canada 2.172    | Hong Kong 12.12 | New Zealand 2.453  | Sweden 11.977     |
| Cyprus 0.819    | India 58.49     | Norway 11.145      | Switzerland 2.88  |
| Denmark 10.618  | Ireland 1.072   | Portugal 282.00    | Turkey 280.040    |
| Finland 8.372   | Israel 5.66     | Saudi Arabia 5.345 | USA 1.576         |

Supplied by NatWest Bank (excluding Indian rupee and Israeli shekel).

Racing

# Embassy all the rage for Guineas

Chris Hawkins

**A**CCCELERATION is the mark of merit in the thoroughbred, and Embassy went to the top of the class after a blistering burst to win yesterday's Shadwell Stud Cheveley Park Stakes at Newmarket, not only top of the class, but head of the ante-post market for next year's 1,000 Guineas.

The Tote goes as short as 9-1 favourite for the first filly, Classicist, but Coral's offer the best value at 6-1 from 16s.

Kieren Fallon was in no hurry on Embassy as Shadwell made to sit behind, and was content to wait until the two furlong pole. But when he asked the question the response was typical of a precocious pupil, and the filly could not wait to show off, racing clear in a matter of strides.

The new sectional timing on the Rowley Mile reveals that Embassy covered the final quarter mile in 24.03 seconds compared to the 24.28 seconds of the runner-up, Craze Mental, and 26.14 of Shadwell's best-performing filly to finish last, Newmarket's innovative system has been installed at a cost of £200,000, and every horse is timed by way of a transponder which is attached to the saddle cloth.

Perhaps it was the pulse which sparked Embassy's burst, but whatever it was, the result was spectacular, and she stormed home two-and-a-half-lengths clear.

"I had doubts before the



Flying filly... Embassy streaks clear of her Cheveley Park rivals at Newmarket yesterday

PHOTOGRAPH: FRANK BARON

Roger Charlton scooped more than £201,000 for his owners in prize money and breeder's bonuses after sending the first and second in the Tattersalls Houghton Stakes.

Tamarisk, the 5-4 favourite, made all, and quickened clear to beat Sapphire Ring by three and a half lengths. It was a very impressive performance and Tamarisk, who

won his previous race by six lengths, is now unbeaten in three attempts.

There is no telling just how good this Green Desert colt is and Charlton intends to find out by supplementing him for the Dewhurst Stakes in two weeks time.

Tim Sprake, the jockey, rates Tamarisk the best horse he has ridden on the course: "Quite often I've been

on good horses at home or first time out, and then someone else has got on them. Silver Patriarch was a case in point. Tamarisk travels and quickens, and has never had a smack."

This was Sprake's 63rd winner on turf this season which equals his best total.

After news concerns My Emma who had been confirmed a definite runner by

Rae Guest after falling and injuring her quarters two weeks ago, HJ's quote her as 10-1 behind co-favourites. He also, Pilsudski and Pehtre Celebre at 7-2. Borgia, the top German mare, has been supplemented and put in the betting by HJ's at 16-1.

Cambridgeshire favourite Laban is doubtful for Saturday's race after pulling up stiff yesterday morning.

## SPORTS NEWS 13

### Sport in brief

## Silk Cut slips back as Kvaerner races clear

LAWRIE SMITH'S Silk Cut has slipped to fifth in the Whitbread Round the World Race, writes Bob Fisher. The British boat has been overtaken by Mark Fischer's Chesapeake Racing and is now 66 miles astern of Knut Frostad's Innovation Kvaerner.

Fluctuating weather which was responsible for the change also affected Grant Dalton, whose Merit Cup is holding on to second place. "We were feeling pretty good about life, with Kvaerner so close," said Dalton. "Then a big black cloud planted itself overhead and Kvaerner put 15 miles on us in six hours." That is the 15 miles by which Dalton now trails the leaders. Paul Cayard's EF Language is 10 miles behind Merit Cup, with Chesapeake Racing another 25 miles back; 16 miles further back is Silk Cut.

## Four in a row for 49ers

THE San Francisco 49ers claimed their fourth straight victory and their first win at the Ericsson Stadium in Charlotte when they beat the NFL West Division rivals the Carolina Panthers 34-21. Carolina, who beat the 49ers twice last season and won all their games in Charlotte, suffered their third consecutive home defeat.

## Prost hires Renault expert

ALAIN PROST has hired Bernard Dudot, his colleague at Renault in the early Eighties, to develop his Formula One car next year. Dudot is currently working with Williams and Benetton but Renault are withdrawing from Formula One this year and he will join Prost as technical director. Prost, currently using Mugen Hondas, will obtain his engines from Peugeot.

## American sunk by blunder

GARRY KASPAROV's hypnotic reputation claimed another victim at Tilburg yesterday when Tal Shaked, the United States' 19-year-old junior world champion, blundered his queen into the Russian's one-move trap, writes Leonard Barden. Kasparov, who has won all his three games, leads Vladimir Kramnik by half a point with Britain's Michael Adams tied for third.

## McManus marches on

ALAN McMANUS took the deciding frame with a 68 break to beat the world No. 4, Mark Williams 5-4 to reach the quarter-finals of the Regal Scottish Masters at Motherwell Civic Centre, writes Clive Everton. His opponent tomorrow will be Peter Ebdon, to whom he lost in last year's final.

## Former goalkeeper dies

PETER SPRINGETT, the former Sheffield Wednesday goalkeeper and brother of the England international Ron, has died aged 51 after a four-year illness which confined him to a wheelchair at his home in Dronfield.

## Brighton programme

| CHRIS HAWKINS     | TOP FORM     |
|-------------------|--------------|
| 2.20 Private Seal | Private Seal |
| 2.25 Private Seal | Private Seal |
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| 5.25 Private Seal | Private Seal |

Upgraded left-handed course of 11m with 380 nm-h. Sharp and undulating. Going: Firm. \* Devotes blinkers.

Owner: Low numbers slightly favoured in sprint.

Long distance travellers: 15-20 m. R. Eastman, W. Yorks. 262 miles.

Seven day winners: 4.25 Mac Odes & Harbinger Walk.

Blindfolded first time: 2.20 Oriol Girl, 2.25 Abigail, 5.25 Easy Song.

Figures in brackets after horse's name denote days since last outing.

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## Newcastle Jackpot meeting with form guide and ratings

| CHRIS HAWKINS | TOP FORM |
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| 2.10 Kathan   | Kathan   |
| 2.15 Kathan   | Kathan   |
| 3.45 Kathan   | Kathan   |
| 4.15 Kathan   | Kathan   |
| 4.15 Kathan   | Kathan   |
| 5.15 Kathan   | Kathan   |
| 5.15 Kathan   | Kathan   |

Left-handed course of 11m with 400 nm-h. Straight mile which rises throughout providing stiff test.

Going: Good to Firm. \* Devotes blinkers.

Owner: Low numbers slightly favoured in sprint.

Long distance travellers: 15-20 m. R. Eastman, W. Yorks. 262 miles.

Seven day winners: 4.25 Mac Odes & Harbinger Walk.

Blindfolded first time: 2.20 Oriol Girl, 2.25 Abigail, 5.25 Easy Song.

Figures in brackets after horse's name denote days since last outing.

|        |                                       |
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| 2.10   | E.B.F. HEBBURN MAIDEN S               |
|        | 1m £3,453 (8 declared)                |
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| 02 (5) | 0 Bombardier (15) 8 Hbs 9-0 ...       |



## Football: Champions League

Group B: Manchester United v Juventus

# United look to Giggs for inspiration

David Lacey on a daunting task tonight for Ferguson's under-strength team

**M**ANCHESTER United's finances laid another golden egg yesterday, although tonight in the Champions League Alex Ferguson's team will be treading on eggshells of a more fragile kind. Annual pre-tax profits at Old Trafford may have leapt by 79 per cent but if United again plunge into the red against Juventus their balance sheet in Europe will begin to wear a familiar look of foreboding.

While United were winning 3-0 in Kosice a fortnight ago Juventus beat Feyenoord 5-1 and became even firmer favourites to win Group B. If the Italian side avoid defeat this evening, and even more so if they repeat last November's victory at Old Trafford, it will take a lot to stop them reaching the quarter-finals.

With only the two best-placed of the six runners-up going through, Juventus' fall-back position is less secure than last time when they lost three of their group games but still qualified for the last eight. Ferguson knows that anything less than victory tonight will be bad news for his chances of adding the Champions League to his lengthy list of managerial honours.

It is not the best time, then, to be going into a match with Roy Keane a likely absentee. The captain hurt a knee in Saturday's match at Leeds, where United were beaten for the first time this season, and with the joint still swollen his prospects tonight look slim.

But Nicky Butt, who was not risked at Elland Road because of a dead leg, will be fit to face the combined French might of Zinedine Zidane and Didier Deschamps in the Juventus midfield. And Ryan Giggs, whose inspiration on the left wing came so close to turning the match against Juventus 10 months ago, is back after straining a hamstring.

Juventus, however, having twice defeated United last season, have not lost to English opposition since a late goal from Arsenal's Paul Vaseen in Turin eliminated them from the 1979-80 Cup Winners' Cup. More pertinently, they have lost only once in 13 Champions League group matches.

Tonight they will come on in much the same old way.

Yet again Juve have parted company with two of their strikers, Alan Boksic and Christian Vieri following Gianluca Vialli and Fabrizio Ravanelli out of the club, but without altering their way of playing, except that the present pairing of Filippo Inzaghi, signed from Atalanta in the summer for £2.5 million, and Alessandro Del Piero may be even better equipped to take on the United centre-backs, and especially Gary Pallister, for pace and perception.

Inzaghi was the leading scorer in Serie A last season with 24 goals. So far this season he has scored three times for Juventus in four Italian League games and found the net once against Feyenoord. "From what I've seen of the lad his only thought is to score," Ferguson said yesterday. "Both of the Juventus front players now are very sharp and very quick. This is the only real difference in the team. Their previous strikers were stronger physically."

Ferguson's needs sounded simple enough. "We have to score on our own ground," he said, "and if we can do that we've got a good chance."

Last season it was a failure to step up opportunities which at one time looked like preventing United reaching the knockout stage, and after the problem was apparently solved with a 4-0 victory over Porto in the quarter-finals, missed chances cost them dear when they met Borussia Dortmund for a place in the final.

It seems likely that today Teddy Sheringham and Ole Solisjaer will be asked to take on Ciro Ferrara and Paolo Montero, the Juventus centre-backs, in the hope that Giggs, Paul Scholes and David Beckham will also find space and time within scoring range.

Juventus have Angelo Di Livio suspended and Antonio Conte struggling with an injury. Zidane and Deschamps look like being flanked by Alessio Tacchinardi and Fabio Pecchia.

That this early stage in the Champions League the Italian team will play it tight, but Zidane will not have forgotten how he ruled the first half of last season's match at Old Trafford, and United will need to remember, from Turin a year ago, how easy a goal can be lost to this class of opposition.

Manchester United (probable): 4-4-2: Schmeichel; G. Neville, Berg, Palfister, Irwin; Gascoigne, Butt, Scholes, Giggs; Sheringham, Solisjaer.

Juventus (probable): 4-4-2: Peruzzi; Vieri, Ferrara, Inzaghi, Del Piero; Pecchia, Deschamps, Zidane, Tacchinardi; Montero, Del Piero.

Referee: A Lopez Nieto (Spain).



In the line-up... Faustino Asprilla, who missed Newcastle's match on Saturday, is back in the frame with a young fan before yesterday's flight to Kiev

Group C: Dynamo Kiev v Newcastle United

# Dalglish safe and sounding off

Michael Walker finds Newcastle taking chicken to Kiev and grouse from the manager

**T**HE information greeting the foreign visitor here is only partly reassuring. "Scientists," it says, "generally accept that the city is now safe for normal length tourist visits." But 11½ years on, the effects of the melt-down at Chernobyl are clearly still features of Ukrainian life.

Ninety minutes do not constitute even a "normal length" visit, but it was a large Newcastle United party who arrived into cool Kiev sunshine yesterday lunchtime. Also on board were the trappings of the modern Western football club travelling east: 4,000lb of chickens, fish and mineral water, plus two chefs. Kiev, after all, is only 40 miles south of Chernobyl.

Poverty, nationalism and the importance of football in a newly independent state are a cocktail that Newcastle experienced on their last European trip, to Zagreb in the second qualifying round. Yet yesterday morning Kenny Dalglish appeared uninterested in nuclear fall-out and its significance for a concrete-and-sex economy in post-soviet eastern Europe and instead had a go at the Football Association. His complaint was familiar — that there are too many games in England — and echoed Arsène Wenger's views of Monday.

Dalglish, however, went further than the Arsenal manager when he said: "This situation has been thrown at us since the start of the season

and we can't even get Saturday's game against Tottenham moved to Sunday. We will have to look at our position when it comes to releasing players for internationals. If the FA can't help club sides, club sides might not be able to help the FA. It's catch-22."

The outburst was provoked by the realisation that Dynamo Kiev had not played since last Friday in a very friendly 1-1 draw with Chernomorets — whereas tonight's game will be Newcastle's fifth in a fortnight.

The first in that sequence was Barcelona, and anything like a repeat of the opening hour at St James' Park would suffice here. Then again, on that same night this Kiev team, which forms the bulk of a Ukrainian national squad who lie second to Germany in their World Cup group, were winning 3-1 in Eindhoven. For either side, victory this

evening would put them in a commanding position. It will be Kiev's first Champions League match at home for two years as in October 1996 they received a two-year ban (later reduced to one year) after it was discovered that they had attempted to bribe the referee in a game against Panathinaikos. Kiev won a legitimately officiated match 1-0 but they had already been reported for leaving \$30,000 (£16,500) and two milk coats in a bag outside the referee's hotel room. The referee was also offered the services of prostitutes.

Now, having beaten Barry Town on the way, they are back, and of greater concern today is the suspension of their captain Yuri Kalitvintsev and his fellow midfielder Yuri Maximov. They will, however, include the rising star of Ukrainian football, Andrei Shevchenko.

Bryan Hamilton, the manager of Northern Ireland who are in the same group as Ukraine, said of Shevchenko: "He's like a young Alan Shearer" after the 21-year-old had scored the winner against the Irish in Kiev's Olympic stadium in April.

Shevchenko, said to be wanted by AC Milan, also scored against Eintracht Frankfurt. Newcastle will clearly have to watch him but not just him because Kiev have another promising young goalscorer in Sergi Rebrov. Newcastle's own hopes of a goal again lie chiefly with Faustino Asprilla, who has recovered from the stomach bug which caused him to miss the Chelsea match on Saturday. But Robert Lee, who also missed Chelsea, may not be fit. Warren Barton, Keith Gillies and Temur Ketsbaia all await the Newcastle team sheet with interest.

## Bell's ends Scottish League backing

Patrick Glenn

**T**HE Scottish Football League lost its main sponsor yesterday when Bell's decided not to renew its current £5 million, four-year deal.

The distillers' decision was prompted by the uncertainty caused by the proposed secession from the league of the 10 Premier Division clubs. That threat is understood to have cost £8 million in sponsorship.

The present agreement is due to expire at the end of this season and it is believed that the League's negotiations had all but secured a rise of £2 million for the renewal. But Bell's marketing director Andy Neal said: "Bell's entered the sponsorship with the offer of stability in a new era for the game and the attraction of associating with 40 clubs, in four divisions, throughout Scotland."

"The company had been close to agreeing a way ahead for the sponsorship with the League, but the announcement and follow-up news conferences with regard to the proposed breakaway have left it unclear exactly what we would be sponsoring."

The would-be separatists will meet the League's management committee today to put some meat on the bones of the proposals they made a few weeks ago. There has been dissatisfaction among the smaller clubs with what the top 10 have so far revealed of their plans.

If the top 10 have to go to law to secure their objectives, the uncertainty may be prolonged for a damagingly long period; and even if the proposed breakaway fails, it will be too late to resurrect Bell's interest in sponsorship.

It's a disappointment, of course, said the League's secretary Peter Donald, "but it's a bit too early to panic."

True, the League has rarely had difficulty in finding sponsorship since commercialisation of the game began to grow in earnest 15 years ago. But it is unlikely that it will attract any investors into the breakaway issue is settled.

● Morton will name a new back-room team today. The First Division club's manager Allan McGraw has been of football in a major shake-up by the new owner Hugh Scott.

## Rugby Union

# Llanelli fight Euro fine

Robert Armstrong and Paul Rees

**L**LANELLI are refusing to pay a £20,000 fine — half of it suspended — meted out to them yesterday after a lengthy meeting of the European Rugby Cup directors in Dublin.

The Welsh club immediately announced that they would appeal against the fine, which has also been imposed on Pau, their hosts in a violent Heineken Cup match in France on September 13. Pontypriid and Brive were each fined £30,000 last week for their part in a similarly violent game on September 14, also played in France.

"We are appalled," said Llanelli's chief executive Stuart Gallacher. "We do not accept the legality of the ERC's decision and we will challenge it. All our players did was stand up for themselves because they received no protection from the match officials."

Justice has not been done," said another Llanelli board member. "A video of the evidence shows clearly that the violence was perpetrated by four players yet the two clubs have been fined the same amount. Our advice is

that we would have an excellent case in court."

No more than £10,000 need be paid if Llanelli avoid further violent incidents before the tournament ends on January 31, but any substantial fine will deepen the financial crisis that has overshadowed the club for the past year. The club had expected to raise more than £400,000 from the issue of a member share offer, but days before the deadline they were reportedly still about £200,000 short.

Stradey Park ground has all-Rugby Union for £1.25 million and the long-serving Iwan Evans has been transferred to Bath for £75,000.

"It is a question of principle," said Llanelli's chairman Ron Jones. "Our decision has nothing to do with the financial problems we have been having. Our share offer has gone very well and we expect to raise close to the £400,000 we need to continue trading."

"The ERC has to operate under the law but it has lost complete control of any sense of moral balance. We have not breached any tournament rule."

Llanelli are angry that no action has been taken against Pau's scrum-half Frédéric Torossian. They claim he was involved in four incidents of gross foul play: butting two opponents, stamping on another and kicking a fourth. And last season he was sent off for stamping when Pau played in Llanelli.

"It is amazing that the £20,000 fine supposedly imposed on him by Pau is considered sufficient punishment," said Gallacher. "He has clearly brought the game into disrepute."

The Scarlets, who currently lie second in Pool E behind Pau, spent most of yesterday trying to establish the procedure for their appeal, which should be heard before the 21-day deadline for payment of the fine runs out.

On Saturday Llanelli visit Treviso and seven days later they play host to Caledonia. One win from those games would be sufficient to see them into the quarter-final play-offs. Pau look set to reach the quarter-finals automatically.

Last weekend the return fixtures involving Pontypriid, Brive, Llanelli and Pau all passed off without violent incident, and other clubs appear to have got the message that indiscretions might cost them dear.

fit and motivated then there is nothing to stop us recalling him as captain for the Latin Cup matches," said Maso.

Moseley's England A prop Nathan Webber has a case to answer, his club have decided after studying a video of an incident which led to his sending-off in Saturday's Allied Dunbar Premiership Second Division game against Scarlets.

Webber allegedly kicked an Exeter player during a ruck.

## Boxing

# Eubank returns to the numbers game

Jack Manserik

**C**HRIS Eubank was talking multi-fight deals yesterday. It was just like old times. Three years ago it was a 10-fight package, this time nine. The promoter then was Barry Hearn, this time Frank Warren. Then and now the ball-park figure was £10 million. And then as now, a pressing little matter with the Island Revenue was helping Eubank to make up his mind.

Now campaigning at light-middleweight, Eubank returns to a British ring on Saturday week for the first time in more than two years. He challenges the unbeaten Londoner

Mark Prince in Sheffield for the WBO Inter-Continental title, with eight more fights to be arranged.

Frank Bruno is in the picture too. The former WBC heavyweight champion wants to work with Eubank, though whether as negotiator, trainer or cornerman is not clear.

● New York reports claim that Naseem Hamed will defend his WBO featherweight title against Kevin Kelley, a former WBC champion, at Madison Square Garden on December 19. Junior Jones defends his WBO light-bantamweight title against his fellow American Kennedy McKinney on the same bill, with the winners to meet at Wembley in July.

## Rugby League

# Maranta the trail-blazer

Andy Wilson

**B**ARRY MARANTA, who yesterday left London for the Wigan Super League, is set to play a significant role in the future of the British Isles.

Maranta, who helped to establish Brisbane Broncos as Australia's biggest club in the late Eighties, was in at the start of Super League when he hosted a group of Rupert Murdoch's executives at the World Club Challenge between Brisbane and Wigan in the summer of 1994.

"I came to London because Rupert wanted something to happen here, and I know he will be delighted to have the marketing and promotional ability of Richard Branson and Virgin behind Super League," he said yesterday.

after Branson confirmed that he had increased his Broncos stake from 15 to 55 per cent and announced that he would be an active chairman of the club, founded by Maranta.

"But clearly Sky and Rupert are disappointed that Super League has not developed with similar success in other parts of the British Isles," Maranta said. "I still have my remaining interest in the Broncos to worry about, but not the least of my roles will be to look at the possible future expansion of Super League."

Maranta's son Michael will remain involved with London Broncos, his primary task being to develop a new stadium in west London where the Broncos are laying down roots with a schools development programme and paying £15,000 a game to rent The Stoop. The new stadium is thought to be

a prerequisite for flotation on the Stock Exchange.

Bradford are expected today to announce the signing of Shaun Edwards from the Broncos less than six months after he moved south from Wigan for personal reasons.

Wigan's Tony Smith, meanwhile, will today have a final scan on the knee ligament he injured in Sunday's Premiership final, and the coach Eddy Hughes fears it will reveal a tear which will keep the scrum-half out of Friday's World Club Championship quarter-final against Hunter Mariners and November's Tests against Australia.

Gary Connolly, moreover, suffered an Achilles strain on Sunday. "Gary's problem isn't so serious although he's still likely to be out on Friday," Hughes said.

● Widnes have transferred-listed 10 players after their relegation to the Second Division.

## Cricket

# India seek refuge from hail of stones



Rocky ground... India players look on as umpire Badar Muzammil Pasha inspects a stone thrown from the crowd

**F**OUR India players were hit by stones thrown from the crowd during yesterday's one-day international against Pakistan in Karachi. The violence prompted India's captain Sachin Tendulkar to lead his players from the field.

Tendulkar refused to continue when Debashish Mohanty became the fourth player to be struck while fielding on the boundary. India declined to take the field again, citing security fears.

"I am more concerned about the security of my players; I can't continue under these circumstances," Tendulkar told the Sri Lankan match referee Ranjan Madugalle.

Modugalle agreed to halt play, curtailing Pakistan's innings at 265 for four after 47.2

of their 50 overs. India were set a revised target of 266 from 47 overs, which they reached with three balls to spare to level the three-match series at one all.

Modugalle had earlier persuaded Tendulkar to continue after Abey Kuruvilla, Nilesh Kulkarni and Sanjay Ganguly were hit by stones. A total of 19 minutes' play was lost as a result of the disturbances.

Pakistan's coach Haroon Rashid blamed the trouble on excess ticket sales for the match. "The main problem was that tickets had been oversold and spectators got restless and threw something big at Ganguly," he said.

India's last tour to Pakistan, in 1989, was also marred by violence. A clash between spectators and police during

the third one-day international in Karachi injured 30 people and damaged several vehicles.

Yesterday's trouble overshadowed some outstanding individual performances, not least by Ganguly, who made 89 and shared a 98-run stand with Kamili to help India to a four-wicket win. Inzamam-ul-Haq had been unbeaten on 74 when Pakistan's innings was stopped.

## France drop Carbonneau

**P**HILIPPE Carbonneau, the scrum-half who was at the centre of the "battle of Brive" with Pontypriid, will be overlooked when France name their squad for next month's Latin Cup matches against Argentina, Italy and Romania.

The team manager Jo Maso said: "All the players were warned about discipline. We will be unbending in our attitude to behaviour on or off the pitch."

Carbonneau had his nose broken in an alleged bar-room brawl with Pontypriid players after their European Cup match three weeks ago and the Welsh claimed that the Frenchman had started everything by head-butting during the match.

Philippe Saint-André will be recalled by France as captain if he proves his form in front of the selectors when his English club Gloucester play Béziers in the European Conference on Saturday.

"If Philippe proves he is

Embassy new Guineas favourite, page 13

Juninho ends Leicester hopes, page 14

India team pelted in Karachi, page 15

Llanelli rebel over fine, page 15

# SportsGuardian

## Celtic spirit comes to nothing

Uefa Cup, first round, second leg: Liverpool 0, Celtic 0 (agg: 2-2, Liverpool win on away goals)

## Liverpool ride the storm

**T**HE great battle of Britain ended in a rather ungracious dogfight on Merseyside last night. Liverpool edging out Celtic only by virtue of their performance in Glasgow a fortnight earlier.

With hindsight it is probably fitting that Steve McManaman's remarkable goal at Parkhead should prove to be decisive. It levelled the score on that night and after a fraught evening at Anfield it proved sufficient to move Liverpool forwards into the next round of the Uefa Cup on the away-goals ruling.

How far Liverpool will progress, however, must be open to serious doubt for they were utterly wretched, landing just one shot on target all night.

A genuine sense of occasion was restored to the stadium for the first time with the partial reopening of the Anfield Road stand. Even so, it held only 3,000 people, all from north of the border, all no doubt rueing the lack of a roof. The effect must have been sobering, indeed.

The heavens over Merseyside had opened mid-morning and the rain was unremitting, drenching the playing surface to such an extent that the opening exchanges were so frantic as to hold genuine comic value. It was hell-for-leather stuff.

The afternoon had held much disappointment for the Celtic coach Wim Jansen, confirming that many of his better players would be absent through injury. Liverpool had been more fortunate, the return of Rob Jones at full-back permitting the manager Roy Evans another opportunity to assess the merits of the four-man defensive system he is increasingly loath to embrace.

A Celtic fan to the rear of the press box spent the opening 15 minutes berating his



Battle of B... Berger of Liverpool has the edge over Burley of Celtic in a midfield tussle at a drenched Anfield last night

PHOTOGRAPH: CLIVE BRUNSKILL

side for paying Liverpool undue respect. His words were lost in the din but he was probably correct in his assessment.

Liverpool played the long, first-time ball to such telling effect that Celtic were

reduced to hanging on before they could even consider making a more positive contribution.

It was a war of attrition and one which Celtic were content to see extended deep into a fractured opening half, pre-

sumably in the belief that, if Liverpool's patience waned, so too would their sense of discipline.

The irony was that the first genuine opportunity — and a good one it was — fell to the Scots. Tosh McKinlay's enor-

mous clearance after 20 minutes dropped just inside the penalty area, predictably enticing David James from his goal. As the goalkeeper rose to collect, he collided with his team-mate Stig Bjornebye, who was shaping to head clear. The ball fell in front of Simon Donnelly but, in his haste to strike an unprotected target, he lobbed high and wide. His right foot is normally more effective.

Liverpool's second let-off was not long delayed and merely served to re-emphasise that their football still lacks real authority and, until such time as it acquires some, they will remain vulnerable to those capable of squeezing the play in midfield.

Morten Wieghorst's ferocious drive from 20 yards would certainly have found its way in had Bjornebye not thrown himself forwards to halt its progress. The Norwegian's clearance prompted only controversy, a posse of Celtic players surrounding

the referee in the belief that they had been denied not by the forehead but an arm.

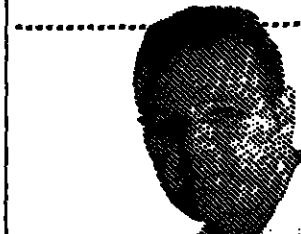
Celtic now showed greater belief that they could win and, as Liverpool began to funnel back, the suspicion grew that they would be happy to preserve the status quo and thus progress on the away-goals rule.

Their timidity and their thoughtless football infuriated all but the most partisan of their followers for here, unapologetically, was a team bereft of anything remotely resembling a worthwhile idea.

As the game raced towards its climax, Celtic's sense of desperation became understandably more pronounced and, as they moved forward, often and gamely, Liverpool at last began to find open doors in front of them.

Liverpool 1-4: James, Jones, Kvarme, Babb, Bjornebye, McManaman, Ince, Carragher, Berger, Owen, Fowler, Celtic 0-6: Donnelly, McKinlay, Stubbs, Anon, Hannah, McNamara, Burley, Wieghorst, Maiz, Donnelly, Lanson, McManama, Steinborn (Germany).

## Coining it but short-changed up front



Paul Hayward

**I**T WAS probably just a coincidence that Manchester United yesterday announced a 79 per cent increase in pre-tax profits to £27.6 million, 24 hours before Juventus bring their rhapsodic football back to Old Trafford. United are the biggest club in the world. The question is whether they can become the best.

With apologies to Kosice, United's European campaign starts here. Last autumn the English champions were beaten home and away by a Juventus team so laden with treasures that they had just off-loaded Fabrizio Ravanelli and Gianluca Vialli. But had the teams been kicking around balance sheets, United would have been five up by half-time.

If Juventus own the skills, United have got the tills. Their turnover (£87.9 million) is more than double Juventus's. Their average attendance is 10,000 higher and their wage bill 50 per cent lower; salaries account for only 25 per cent of United's income whereas in Turin they eat up half. Old Trafford is the site of an economic miracle as dazzling in its own way as what Juventus are capable of on the field.

The latest Deloitte & Touche review of football finance concludes that United are the most financially powerful club.

Both the Japanese J-League and South American leagues are relatively parochial compared to Europe and it is unlikely these clubs could match the global merchandising, sponsorship and other income sources of Manchester United.

Yesterday's announcement that the club's own television station — MUTV — will start broadcasting six hours of news and features next autumn will consolidate that lead. It also points the way to the end of the current BSkyB-Premier League deal. Once the technology and brand name are established, United are bound to want to sell exclusive coverage of home games to their domestic audience of 3.3 million far-flung souls.

United are now a concept as much as a club, football's Coca-Cola. Supporters' clubs are springing up in China. United's Far Eastern tours are strengthening their Asian market. Alex Ferguson may

choke on his breakfast of iron filings but newspaper pictures of David Beckham and Ryan Giggs surrounded by cars and girls add to the mystique.

Ferguson must be watching the inflation of this balloon a little ambivalently. His directors have built a £500 million empire largely on his successes. He has handed them four league titles, including two Doubles, and travelled these islands persuading parents that their boy is best off in the club's impressive youth set-up. Whatever they are paying him, it's not enough.

Yet for all United's bank-stuffing wealth, one deficiency remains, a failing which paradoxically could be cured by the one thing they have plenty of: money. For all the wispy, peppery youths galloping through, United are without a Shearer to perform the very last function on the club's vastly profitable production line.

Last season Shearer scored 27 league and cup goals for Newcastle. He Wright got 28 for Arsenal. United's top scorer was Ole Gunnar Solskjaer with 18. This year, so far, they haven't got a name in the top 20. Beckham, Roy Keane and Paul Scholes have all scored two, against 10 for Blackpool's Chris Sutton.

A recurring memory is that United failed to score either home or away against last year's European Cup finalists, Borussia Dortmund and Juventus. This is one area where the Italian champions have a better grasp of numbers. In 1996 they got rid of Ravanelli and Vialli. This summer it was Christian Vieri and Alan Boksic. United, meanwhile, have given their fans a bang by persevering with Andy Cole.

**T**HE good news for supporters (and bad news for Cole) is that Ferguson now has 28 million extra in his war chest. Unless he spends it on a net-busting international centre-forward it is hard to imagine his team forcing their way to the final, even with a £28 million profit, half the England team in their side and their own TV channel.

Looking through the accounts is a disorientating experience so close to the end of the Ryder Cup, in which the 54 players were paid nothing for laying on one of the most compelling dramas in sport. United's economic fantasia showed what money can give, and the Ryder Cup reminded us just how much it can take away.

David Lacey, page 15  
City, page 12

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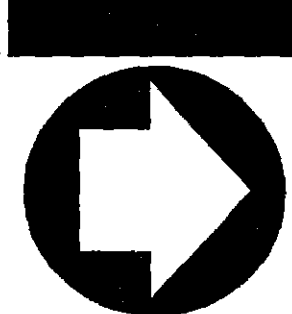
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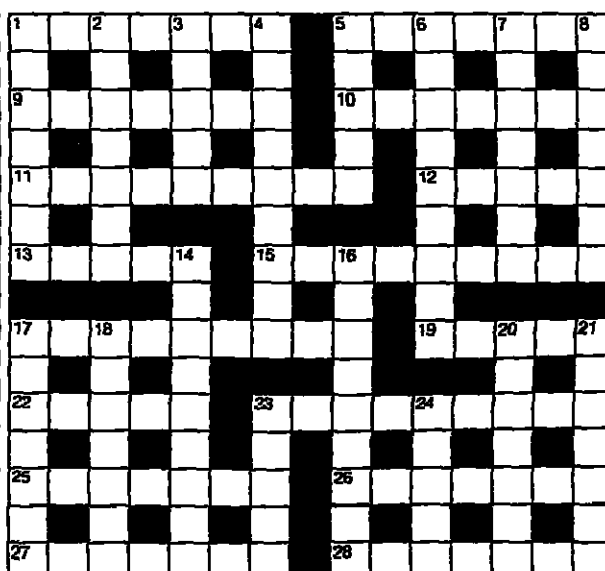


**'There were tirades that went on for hours and there was a sort of pleasure in the abuse. This kind of behaviour among such a sophisticated and talented group of people was quite shocking.'**  
50 years of Magnum

**G2 cover story**

## Guardian Crossword No 21,083

Set by Crispa

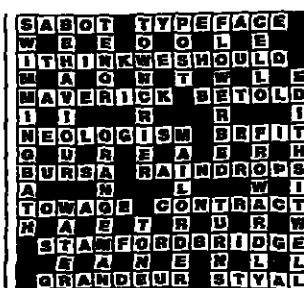


### Across

- 1 Dicky can't, Max can be a little beast (4,3)
- 5 Spook no opposition when in office? (7)
- 9 Desert a Scotsman at a retreat? (7)
- 10 Cooped up and content like a country bumpkin (7)
- 11 Never stop for change, so exceeded the budget (9)
- 12 Sound animal for a forested area of Eastern Europe (5)
- 13 Heartless woman, laid-back but organised (3,2)
- 15 Demanding it's sent — in error (5)
- 17 Disrespect shown only in hostility and church (9)
- 19 The body language of the uncaring (5)
- 22 Burn to appear elegant (5)

### Down

- 1 Fields where birds hold a party (7)
- 2 To take ready-prepared food into the home is most efficient (7)
- 3 Kind about a young woman (5)
- 4 A player whose performance is no laughing matter (9)
- 5 Making notes on drug store (5)
- 6 Beats playing chess — accepts a drink (9)
- 23 Place where no-one tight is taken the wrong way (9)
- 25 A note written by expert will be most pleasant (7)
- 26 Many a mad character occasions talk (7)
- 27 People in the wrong can cause distress (7)
- 28 Landed with real trouble, that's true (7)



Crossword SOLUTION 21,082

- 7 Articles about opposing cereal production from sheer greed (7)
- 8 More weight to remove! (7)
- 14 Very agreeable associate on a board (9)
- 16 Reluctant to give credit (9)
- 17 There's not much time for prassing (7)
- 18 Less confident about the pitch, being the more dubious sort (7)
- 20 May be composed or tries to be merry (7)
- 21 No particular top man (7)
- 23 The high-minded person keeps very little — the sucker! (5)
- 24 Not taken into account for a bit (5)

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